



**RAJA MAN SINGH OF AMBER**



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To  
THE SACRED MEMORY OF  
MY FATHER  
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## INTRODUCTION

The Mughal aristocracy played a vital role in the establishment of the Mughal Empire on a firm footing in India and this accounts for the fact that they were called "*arkan-i-daulat*" or 'pillars of the state'. Hence in order to have a well-documented, comprehensive and general history of the Mughal Empire, the need of authoritative biographies and monographs of the important personalities of the Mughal Court is very great.

The history of Akbar's reign will be incomplete without a detailed knowledge of the contributions of Raja Man Singh, not only to the expansion of the Mughal Empire but also to the enrichment of the art and architecture of the period. It has to be admitted that Raja Man Singh has not received a fair deal so far at the hands of the Indian people at large. He has been looked down upon by some Hindu poets and writers of modern times. Nay, he has been dubbed a parasite of the Mughal Emperor, Akbar, an outcast and a traitor, either on account of his matrimonial alliances with the Mughals or due to his strained relations with Rana Pratap, the proud Sisodia chief of Mewar.

I believe that the biographical phase of Mughal historiography is not yet over. The comprehensive and systematic history of the successive ages of the country depends on true, objective and detached inquiry into not only the spirit of the ages but also into the achievements of such personalities as helped in the crystallization of the spirit of the age. Personalities are not only the torch-bearers of their respective times but at times they prove to be the connecting link between two succeeding ages. Judging in the true historical perspective, the achievements of Raja Man Singh are of such supreme importance from the point of view of Akbar's period that it merits deep and concentrated studies. These considerations weighed with me when I chose "the Biography of Raja Man Singh" as the subject of my thesis. I have tried in this thesis

- (i) to remove the misconceptions and a few exaggerated notions regarding Raja Man Singh and
- (ii) to bring to light the facts hitherto unknown about the true achievements of the Kachhwaha Raja.

Sometimes even celebrated writers have failed to exercise their judgment in right historical perspective. Colonel Tod in his '*Annals*

*and Antiquities of Rajasthan*' has alluded to the active role of Raja Man Singh in the siege and conquest of Ranthambhor in 1569. But after critically examining the various contemporary sources I came to the conclusion that the romantic episode as depicted in Tod's Rajasthan is imaginary, without any historical backing. Moreover, Tod and some Rajput chroniclers while describing the battle of Haldighat have told an interesting story about the flight of Rana Pratap, his pursuit by two Khorasani and Multani soldiers, the dramatic meeting of the Rana with his younger brother, Sakat Singh, and the death of *Chitak*, the gallant steed of the Rana. The scrutiny of all the relevant details led me to the conclusion that the story is not based on historical data. I have equally differed with Dr. Raghbir Singh who has disbelieved the story of the meeting of Raja Man Singh with Rana Pratap, the non-participation of the Rana in the lunch at the Udaisagar lake. Not only do I believe in the Udaisagar lake episode being true but I also believe in the possibility of feelings running high in the course of the meeting and some altercation taking place as a sequel, especially when there was no love lost between the Kachhwaha Raja and the Sisodia chief.

After the death of Mirza Muhammad Hakim in July 1585, Man Singh was commanded by Akbar to hasten to Kabul to bring the rebel Afghans under the imperial control. Colonel Tod referring to this states : "The Kachhwaha army hesitated to cross the Indus—the Rubicon of the Hindus and which they term as '*Atak*' or 'the barrier'—as being the limit between their 'faiths' and that of the 'barbarians'. Kuar Man Singh reported the matter to Emperor Akbar, and sought his advice. The accomplished Akbar sent him a couplet in the dialect of Rajasthan". Colonel Tod observes that this delicate irony succeeded when stronger language would have failed. I have not found it possible to subscribe to this view of Tod's, since it betrays an unscientific approach and a wrong grasp of human psychology.

While advancing reasons for the transfer of Raja Man Singh from Kabul, Abul Kazal has stated that the Rajputs behaved unjustly with the people of that country and that Raja Man Singh did not look closely into the cases of the oppressed. I have not been impressed by the views of the eminent Court historian and have discovered other reasons for the transfer of Raja Man Singh.

On the basis of a few manuscripts found in possession of the descendants of Isa Khan, a powerful zamindar of Eastern Bengal during the period of Raja Man Singh, Dr. James Wise has narrated

a story which points to the defeat and discomifiture of the Kachhwaha Raja at the hands of Isa Khan. This story of Dr. Wise has failed to convince me since it has not been supported by contemporary sources.

Jahangir has written in his "Memoirs" that Man Singh had not less than two hundred and eighty sons all of whom, at one time or another, were in rebellion against the authority of their father. Further Mr. Blochmann, in his introduction to the translation of *Ain-i-Akbari*, Volume I, has asserted that sixty of the fifteen hundred wives of Raja Man burned themselves on the funeral pyre after his death. Both these statements appear to be highly exaggerated. On the basis of a few Rajasthani manuscripts and other reliable sources I have been able to establish the fact that the Kachhwaha Raja had twenty-one wives and twelve sons only.

I have also not accepted the arguments of Dr. H. Vedantsastri that Man Singh was a follower of the Bengal School of Vaishnavism or Neo-Vaishnavism. After a critical analysis of all available data I have come to the conclusion that Raja Man Singh was an orthodox Hindu, a staunch believer in the conventional forms and rites of Hinduism, although he was tolerant towards other religions and sects, thus reflecting and disseminating the liberal outlook of his master, Akbar, in its true essence.

As regards my original contributions in the present thesis I would like to refer first of all to the chronological history of the early Kachhwaha rulers of Amber which I have dealt with at length in the first chapter. With the help of a rare Genealogical Table which I found in the State Archives of Jaipur I have been able to reconstruct a genealogical history of the ancestry of Raja Man Singh right from Raja Sorha Deva, who belonged to the latter part of the 10th century A.D.

The most baffling problem that confronted me in the course of my research was the question of parentage of Raja Man Singh. Some of the contemporary Muslim historians are of the opinion that Man Singh was the son of Raja Bhagwan Das, while some others believe Raja Bhagwant Das to be the father of Raja Man Singh. The European historians like V. A. Smith and Colonel Tod affirm that Man Singh was the adopted son of Raja Bhagwan Das. I have discussed this question in detail in the second chapter and after thoroughly examining all the available contemporary and later sources—Persian, Rajasthani, Hindi, English—and on the basis of various inscriptions,

## INTRODUCTION

'I have arrived at the conclusion that Raja Man Singh was the son of Raja Bhagwant Das and he ascended the throne of Amber by the Law of Primogeniture, being the eldest son of his father.

The early life of Raja Man Singh was so far shrouded in mystery. Very little information was available on this period of his life. I have gleaned some information from later Rajasthani sources on the basis of which I have been able to establish a cogent history of the childhood of Raja Man Singh.

The Battle of Haldighat was a turning-point in the career of Raja Man Singh which at once brought him into prominence. While dealing with the battle of Haldighat I have critically analysed all the relevant facts regarding the genesis of the battle, the comparative strength of the contending forces, the casualties suffered and also its consequences.

The last days of Akbar were a period of storm and stress in the career of Raja Man Singh. During this period he changed his role from an imperial commander of repute to that of the chief intriguer of the Mughal Court. I have given a graphic description of the various efforts of Man Singh to install his nephew, Khusrau, on the Mughal throne to the exclusion of the claims of Prince Salim. I have also related how the plans of Raja Man Singh were foiled by the combined efforts of a few powerful nobles headed by Sayyid Khan Barha and Ram Das Kachhwaha. I have narrated the entire story of the interview between Raja Man Singh and Ram Das Kachhwaha, which escaped the notice of the contemporary writers and also of the modern historians, on the basis of an important MS entitled "*Khyat of Pathalpota*" which is in possession of the Oriental Public Library, Patna.

Further, I have dealt at great length with the character and personality of Raja Man Singh, his religious beliefs and faith and his tolerant attitude towards other religions. I have described in Chapter X Man Singh's achievements as an Empire-builder, as a patron of learning and his beneficent disposition, his wits, and other remarkable traits of his personality.

I could not rest content with a mere cataloguing of political events and diplomatic intrigues. On the contrary, I have gone into the study of cultural forces operating beneath the political events and indirectly guiding its course because I fully believe that "in a dynamic age of conscious national awakening and regeneration, of conservation of national heritage and of constructive advance in the criss-

cross of internal and external factors, the Muse of History is no longer satisfied with mere political affairs but it demands from its votaries due study of the social, cultural and economic conditions of the country". It is in consonance with this belief that I have discussed in great detail the contributions of Raja Man Singh towards the art and architecture of the period under review and have described his unknown but eminent pieces of architectural work in Chapter XI. These go to prove not only the high political status of Raja Man Singh but also testify to his refined taste and aesthetic bent of mind.

I started my research work on the 15th August, 1952. I had much faith in the statement of Colonel Tod in his *Annals of Rajas-than* that there were mines of materials regarding Raja Man Singh at Jaipur. Later on when I tried to confirm it from the late Sri Jadu Nath Sarkar, his reply was very disappointing. He wrote to me in June, 1954, from Talegaon General Hospital (Poona District) : "I could trace no official papers or letters of Man Singh's time in Jaipur. In fact such letters begin (in Persian MS) about the year 1626". However, I did not feel frustrated but prepared a list of all the Persian manuscripts available, the only major source that I could depend upon, and sent the same to Sir J. N. Sarkar for his opinion and advice. He wrote back to me in the same year : "The list of sources annexed to your letter is complete so far as Man Singh is concerned, the only addition necessary being Nehawandi's *Maasir-i-Rahimi*, published by the Calcutta Asiatic Society."

With the blessings of the late Sir J. N. Sarkar, a scholar of international repute, and under the able guidance of my esteemed teacher, Dr. K. K. Datta, M.A., P.R.S., Ph.D. I continued my research work with renewed vigour and added strength. I travelled widely in Rajasthan and some parts of Northern India for the purpose of collecting whatever materials I could lay my hands on. Thus I visited Jaipur, Udaipur, Ajmer, Mathura, Brindaban, Varanasi, Baikatpur (Patna), Hajipur, Darbhanga and Calcutta and scaled the steep Kaimur hills in the district of Shahabad to have a complete view of Rohtas fort—once a favourite place of occasional stay and rest of Raja Man Singh in Bihar.

I spent a considerable part of my time, during seven years of my research work in Oriental Public Library (also known as Khudabaksha Library), Patna, going through the contemporary Persian records of Akbar's period. I stayed at Calcutta for several months

and studied the Persian manuscripts, Imperial and District Gazeteers, Historical Journals etc. at the Royal Asiatic Society Library and National Library, for relevant information regarding the subject-matter of my thesis. I spent about two months at Varanasi and ransacked the old files and records of *Kashi Nagri Pracharini Sabha* for the Hindi sources of my thesis. Finally I visited Jaipur twice and in the course of my stay there for about two months I consulted the records of the State Archives of Jaipur, the Sanskrit and Rajasthani manuscripts of Rajasthan Oriental Research Society and the relevant books available in Jaipur Public Library. I also visited the libraries of Ajmer and Udaipur in connection with my research work.

I am deeply indebted to the Late Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar for his valuable suggestions and kind help in the course of my research work.

I take this opportunity of expressing my heartfelt reverence to my esteemed teacher Dr. K. K. Datta, M.A., Ph.D., P.R.S., Vice-Chancellor of the Patna University, without whose ready and ungrudging assistance this book would not have seen the light of day. His guidance served me as a beacon light in my endeavour to make my way through the dark approaches of my undertaking.

I am also beholden to Dr. M. L. Sharma, M.A., D.Litt., Retired University Professor and Head of the Department of History, Rajasthan University, Jaipur, for his constructive criticisms of the controversial points in the biography of Raja Man Singh and for rendering me immense help during my stay at Jaipur.

I also express my sincere regards to Sri Shiva Swarup Varma, M.A., B.L., B.Ed., Ex-Educational Literature Officer, Bihar and Sri Krishna Mohan Varma, Language expert, Bihar Text Book Committee, for helping me in one way or another in bringing my work to completion.

I thank Sri Chaityana Swarup Varma, B.A., for the trouble he took in accompanying me to different places I visited during my study tours and for taking the photographs of the buildings and monuments connected with the memory of Raja Man Singh.

I shall be failing in my duty if I do not acknowledge my obligation to my wife, Smt. Shanti Devi, who rendered all the assistance I needed in continuing my work with unabated energy and unfailing inspiration.

I am also thankful to The World Press Private Ltd., Calcutta, for undertaking to publish this book and devoting all the care and attention needed to make it a nice production.

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## FOREWORD

I congratulate Dr. Rajiva Nain Prasad for producing this Biography of Raja Man Singh, who was one of the most prominent personalities in the age of the great Mughals and contributed in various ways towards the consolidation of Mughal political authority. It is a well-written original work, based on different kinds of contemporary sources. The materials have been collected by the writer from records in various collections including the Jaipur Darbar records, and he has drawn his conclusions after a very careful scrutiny of these.

After describing the heredity of Raja Man Singh, the writer has traced the successive stages of his career in the Mughal Imperial Service. Both as a general and a statesman, he rendered valuable help to Akbar and his administration of Kabul, Bihar and Bengal as Governor of those places was successful in various ways. The writer has also dealt with the relationship of Raja Man Singh with Emperor Jahangir. He has given a critical estimate of his character and personality and has assessed his contribution to architecture.

The book contains many interesting illustrations, some appendices and a critical bibliography. I hope it will be studied with profit by all students of Indian History.

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RAJA MAN SINGH OF AMBER

*(Photograph taken from Jaipur Museum)*

## CHAPTER I

### ANCESTORS OF RAJA MAN SINGH

Raja Man Singh belonged to the Kachhwaha branch of the Kshatriyas. The Kachhwahas claim their descent from Kush, the second son of Raja Ramchandra of epic fame.<sup>1</sup> Raja Ramchandra was the king of Kosala and his capital was Ayodhya.<sup>2</sup> From their original home, Ayodhya, the Kachhwahas migrated westward and ultimately settled at Gwalior.<sup>3</sup> One of the rulers of Kachhwaha dynasty of Gwalior was Raja Isha Singh. His son, Raja Sorha Deva, conquered the territories of Dhoondar<sup>4</sup> from the Meenas and established his kingdom there.<sup>5</sup>

The Genealogical Table of the rulers of Amber, which is preserved in the State Archives of Jaipur, tells us that Raja Sorha Deva ascended the throne on Kartik Badi 10, V. S. 1023<sup>6</sup>, i.e. 27th December, 966 A. D. and died on Magh Sudi 7, V. S. 1063<sup>7</sup>, i.e. 15th December, 1006 A. D. He had married a princess of Yadava family from whom was born Dullah Rai, who succeeded his father to the throne.

Raja Dullah Rai ascended the throne of Dhoondar on Magh Sudi 7, V. S. 1063<sup>8</sup>, i.e. 15th December, 1006 A. D. and ruled until his death on Magh Sudi 7, V. S. 1093<sup>9</sup>, i.e. 28th November, 1036 A.D. He found that the Meenas who were the original inhabitants of the tract round about Dhoondar, hindered trade and disturbed peace and prosperity. The Raja routed them completely and restored order and security in that region. He also built a fort and named it Ramgarh.<sup>10</sup> The Raja hearing that some Deccani prince had marched upon Gwalior proceeded with his followers to help his kinsmen at Gwalior and was killed there.<sup>11</sup>

Dullah Rai was succeeded by his eldest son, Kakilji. Nancy affirms that Kakilji founded the city of Amber and transferred his

<sup>1</sup> Tod, Colonel, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, II, p. 346, (published in 1832).

<sup>2</sup> Ayodhya is in the State of Uttar Pradesh. It is an important religious centre of the Hindus in Northern India.

<sup>3</sup> Rajputana Gazetteer, p. 135, (published in 1879).

<sup>4</sup> Dhoondar—Territories round about Amber. It was the home of the Meenas, the original inhabitants of the region.

<sup>5</sup> Nancy's *Khyat*, II, pp. 4 and 45 (footnote).

<sup>6</sup> Genealogical Table in the State Archives of Jaipur.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> Genealogical Table in the State Archives of Jaipur.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>10</sup> *Thirty Decisive Battles*, p. 36.

*Vir Vinod*, II, p. 1268.

<sup>11</sup> *Thirty Decisive Battles*, p. 48.

capital there.<sup>12</sup> Vikalji, the younger brother of Kakilji, established another branch named 'Viklawat Kachhwaha' and settled near their original home at Gwalior.<sup>13</sup>

Kakilji succeeded his father on Magh Sudi 7, V. S. 1093,<sup>14</sup> i.e. 28th November, 1036 A. D. and remained on the throne for a short period of a little over two years. He died on Vaisak Budi 10, V. S. 1096<sup>15</sup>, i.e. 20th April, 1039 A. D. Kakilji had four sons named Hanu, Alaghram, Dehlan and Rahran. When Kakilji died, the eldest son, Hanuji ascended the throne of Amber on Vaisak Budi 11, V. S. 1096<sup>16</sup>, i.e. 21st April, 1039 A. D. Hanuji was succeeded by his eldest son Janddeoji on Kartik Sudi 13, V. S. 1110<sup>17</sup>, i.e. 28th October, 1053 A. D., the latter remaining on the throne till Chait Sudi 6, V. S. 1127<sup>18</sup>, i.e. 21st March, 1070 A. D. Janddeo was followed by his eldest son, Pajjun Rai, who sat on the throne on Chait Sudi 7, V. S. 1127<sup>19</sup> i.e. 22nd March, 1070 A. D.

After the death of Pajjun Rai in V. S. 1151<sup>20</sup>, i.e. 1094 A. D. Amber lapsed into obscurity for about three hundred years and no event of importance relating to this period is recorded in the Genealogical Table in the State Archives of Jaipur, which gives authentic information about the Kachhwaha rulers during this dark period of the history of Amber.

Pajjun Rai was succeeded by Malayasiji on Jyestha Budi 3, V. S. 1151<sup>21</sup>, i.e. 20th May, 1094 A. D. Malayasiji was in turn succeeded by Vijaldeoji on Phalgun Sudi 3, V. S. 1203<sup>22</sup>, i.e. 15th February, 1146 A. D. The next ruler was Rajdeoji who came to the throne of Amber on Srawan Sudi 5, V. S. 1236<sup>23</sup>, i.e. 25th July, 1179 A. D.

Rajdeoji was succeeded by Kilhanji<sup>24</sup> on Paus Budi 6, V. S. 1273<sup>25</sup>, i.e. 16th December, 1216 A. D. He seems to have had a long reign extending over three score years, for the Genealogical Table notes that Kilhanji was succeeded by his eldest son Kuntalji on Kartik Budi 9, V. S. 1333<sup>26</sup>, i.e. 18th October, 1276 A. D. Kilhanji had another son named Rawat Akhairaj, whose descendants were called Dhirawat

<sup>12</sup> Nancy's *Khyat*, II, pp. 3 & 4.

<sup>13</sup> *Vir Vinod*, II, p. 1268.

<sup>14</sup> Genealogical Table in the State Archives of Jaipur.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>24</sup> He was called Kalyandeo, (Nancy, II, p. 5.)

<sup>25</sup> Genealogical Table in the State Archives of Jaipur.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*

Kachhwahas<sup>27</sup>. Another son of Kilhanji named Rawal Jarasi founded an independent branch called 'Jaske Kachhwahas' who established themselves in the east.<sup>28</sup>

Kuntalji also had a pretty long rule and after his death, Jonsiji<sup>29</sup> became the ruler of Amber on Magh Budi 10, V. S. 1374<sup>30</sup>, i.e. 23rd January, 1317 A. D. Jonsiji had three sons named Udaikarnji, Kumoji and Gangawatji and the eldest Udaikarnji succeeded his father on Magh Budi 3, V. S. 1423<sup>31</sup>, i.e. 6th November, 1366 A. D. Udaikarnji had eight sons, viz.,

Udaikarnji<sup>32</sup>

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Narsingh	Balo	Birsingh	Sheobul	Patil	Pitho	Piche	Napoji
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After the death of Udaikarn on Phalgun Budi 3, V. S. 1445<sup>33</sup>, i.e. 11th February, 1388 A. D. Narsinghji, his eldest son, came to the throne. Narsinghji was succeeded by Banbirji on Bhado Budi 6, V. S. 1485<sup>34</sup>, i.e. 16th August, 1428 A. D. Banbirji had six sons viz.,

Banbirji\*

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Udharn	Rawatnaro	Melakji	Baroji	Jaroji	Biramji
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Udharnji came to the throne after the death of his father on Aswin Budi 12, V. S. 1496† i.e. 20th September, 1439 A. D. and he himself was succeeded by his son Chandrasenji on Margsirsh Budi 14, V. S. 1524<sup>35</sup> i.e. 10th December, 1467 A. D. After Raja Chandrasen came Raja Prithwiraj on Phalgun Budi 5, V. S. 1559<sup>36</sup>, i.e. 11th February, 1502 A. D.

With the accession of Prithwiraj to the throne of Amber, the long period of its political stagnation came to an end. The State of Amber entered into an era marked by brisk political activities. According to Nancy, Raja Prithwiraj had seventeen sons<sup>37</sup> but the Genealogical Table puts the number at nineteen. Kaviraj Shyamaldas also men-

<sup>27</sup> Nancy's *Khyat*, II, p. 5.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>29</sup> Nancy calls him Jawansiji, II, p. 3.

<sup>30</sup> Genealogical Table in the State Archives of Jaipur.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*

\* *Ibid.*

† *Ibid.*

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>37</sup> Nancy's *Khyat*, II, p. 9.

tions this number.<sup>38</sup> Out of his so many sons only twelve seem to have survived as may well be inferred from the fact that Prithwiraj assigned to his sons and to their successors in perpetuity apanages called "Barah Kotri" or "Twelve chambers of the Kachhwaha House"<sup>39</sup>. Raja Prithwiraj ruled for about 25 years until his death on Kartik Sudi 11, V. S. 1584<sup>40</sup>, i.e. 19th November, 1527 A. D.

Raja Prithwiraj was succeeded by his eldest son Raja Puranmal<sup>41</sup> on Kartik Sudi 12, V. S. 1584<sup>42</sup>, i.e. 20th November, 1527 A. D. but his accession to the throne was not liked by the second brother Bhim Singh<sup>43</sup>, who, therefore, conspired against the life of Raja Puranmal. Raja Bhim Singh was successful in his nefarious attempt. Raja Puranmal was murdered<sup>44</sup> on Magh Sudi 5, V. S. 1590<sup>45</sup>, i.e. 13th February, 1533 A. D. After six years of rule he was succeeded by Raja Bhim Singh on Magh Sudi 6, V. S. 1590<sup>46</sup>, i.e. 14th February, 1533 A. D.

Raja Bhim Singh could rule only for about three and a half years, i.e. from Magh Sudi 6, V. S. 1590<sup>47</sup> or 14th February, 1533 to Sravana Sudi 15, V. S. 1593<sup>48</sup> or 16th August, 1536 A. D. The reason for the short tenure of his rule is shrouded in mystery. Tod explains that one parricide was punished by another and that Askarn, a son of Bhim, was instigated by his brother to put their father to death and to "expiate the crime by pilgrimage"<sup>49</sup>. Let us try to find out the identity of this brother of Askarn alleged to have instigated the latter. The Genealogical Table in Jaipur Adchives tells us that Raja Bhim was succeeded by Raja Ratan Singh who ascended the throne of Amber on Bhado Budi 1, V. S. 1593<sup>50</sup>, i.e. 17th August, 1536 A. D. and ruled till Jyestha Sudi 8, V. S. 1604<sup>51</sup>, i.e. 11th June, 1547 A. D. This fact has also been mentioned by Nancy<sup>52</sup>. But the Table does not indicate whose son Raja Ratan Singh was. Nor is the name of Ratan Singh to be found amongst the nineteen sons of Raja Prithwi-

<sup>38</sup> *Pir Vinod*, II, p. 1273.

<sup>39</sup> Nancy's *Khyat*, II, p. 9 (footnote).

<sup>40</sup> Genealogical Table in the State Archives of Jaipur.

<sup>41</sup> Nancy states that Bharamal was the eldest son of Raja Prithwiraj but the Genealogical Table affirms that the eldest son was Puranmal. I have accepted the version of the latter. Nancy's *Khyat*, II, p. 9.

<sup>42</sup> Genealogical Table in the State Archives of Jaipur.

<sup>43</sup> The Genealogical Table notes that the name of the second son of Raja Prithwiraj was Bhio Singh but Nancy holds that it was Bhim Singh. The name of Bhim Singh occurs in the other local histories of Rajasthan and hence it has been accepted by me.

<sup>44</sup> Nancy's *Khyat*, II, p. 9 (footnote).

<sup>45</sup> Genealogical Table in the State Archives of Jaipur.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>49</sup> Tod, Colonel, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, II, p. 353 (published in 1832).

<sup>50</sup> Genealogical Table in the State Archives of Jaipur.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>52</sup> Nancy's *Khyat*, II, p. 9 (footnote).

raj as mentioned in the Genealogical Table in Jaipur Archives or in the list given by Nancy<sup>53</sup>. Therefore, it may be safely concluded that Raja Ratan was the son of Raja Bhim and it was he who instigated his brother Askarn to murder their father. After the murder of Raja Bhim Singh, the throne of Amber was usurped by Raja Ratan Singh, who ruled for about 11 years.

Kaviraj Shyamal Das has stated that Raja Ratan Singh was murdered by Askarn, another son of Raja Prithwiraj<sup>54</sup>. But Askarn was not the son of Prithwiraj. His name is not to be found in the Genealogical Table. Askarn was actually the son of Raja Bhim Singh. He was greatly displeased with Ratan Singh ever since the latter ascended the throne of Amber because Askarn was himself an aspirant for the throne and with this end in view, he had murdered his father, Raja Bhim Singh. But he was outwitted by Ratan Singh, who snatched the throne for himself. This treachery was not forgotten by Askarn who by a secret conspiracy succeeded in getting Ratan Singh murdered on Jyestha Sudi 8, V. S. 1604<sup>55</sup>, i.e. 11th June, 1547 A. D. Askarn could rule only for about a fortnight. The Genealogical Table indicates that he ruled from Jyestha Sudi 8, V. S. 1604 or 11th June, 1547 A. D. to Asarh Budi 8, V. S. 1604<sup>56</sup> or 25th June, 1547 A. D. The cause of this very short tenure of rule has been mentioned in 'Nancy's Khyat'. It has been stated that Askarn adopted the son of his brother-in-law (*i.e.* wife's brother), in open darbar and this was not liked by most of the courtiers. One day while Askarn was away on pilgrimage to the Ganges they made Bharamal ascend the throne of Amber<sup>57</sup>. The reason for the deposition of Askarn does not seem convincing. Askarn had ruled only for a fortnight and it hardly stands to reason that he should think of adopting anybody as his successor. The question of adoption on the part of a ruler comes only after he has consolidated his own position. However, assuming for the time being that it was a cause for his deposition, it must be said that it was a subsidiary rather than the primary cause. The real reason for such a short tenure of reign was that the people of Amber had begun to dislike Askarn who had not only murdered his father but also his own brother for securing the throne. This accounts for the general apathy on the part of the people for their ruler. Bharamal, the third son of Raja Prithwiraj, took advantage of this general discontent and during the absence of his nephew, himself seized the throne on Asarh Budi 8, V. S. 1604 or 25th June, 1547 A. D.<sup>58</sup>

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.* p. 9.

<sup>54</sup> *Vir Vinod*, II, p. 1275.

<sup>55</sup> Genealogical Table in the State Archives of Jaipur.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>57</sup> *Nancy's Khyat*, II, p. 9 (footnote).

<sup>58</sup> Genealogical Table in the State Archives of Jaipur.

When Askarn came to know of this *coup d'etat* he at once fled to Delhi and sought the help of Haji Khan Pathan, a slave of Sher Khan, against Bharamal. Haji Khan Pathan marched to Amber with an army for ousting Bharamal but the latter was too shrewd to risk a battle and he entered into negotiations with the invader and ultimately a compromise was effected. According to it, Bharamal was recognized as the ruler *de jure* of Amber and Askarn was given the territory of Narwar by way of compensation.<sup>59</sup>

Soon after his accession Raja Bharamal found himself surrounded by troubles on all sides. From within he was opposed by Shuja, who was the son of Raja Puranmal, the eldest brother of Raja Bharamal. From without he had to face the evil designs of Muhammad Sharifuddin Hussain, the Mughal governor of Mewat, who was very keen to extend the territories of his Sarkar at the cost of Amber. The Mughal governor was joined by Shuja in his expedition against Raja Bharamal since the latter wanted the chieftainship of Amber for himself.<sup>60</sup>

Shuja began to create troubles for Raja Bharamal from within the territory of Amber. Majnun Khan Qaksal, actively supported by Shuja, threatened the frontier of the Raja's territories. In such circumstance, Raja Bharamal thought it expedient to come to terms with the Mughal governor. He agreed to pay a fixed tribute to Sharifuddin and allowed his third son Jagannath and also Raj Singh (son of Askarn) and Kangar (son of Jagmal, a brother of Bharamal) to be kept as hostages by the latter.<sup>61</sup>

Raja Bharamal had a great friend in the Mughal Court at Agra in the person of Chagta Khan. The latter communicated the news of the discomfiture of the Raja to the Emperor while Akbar was on a pilgrimage to the shrine of Shaikh Moinuddin Chisti at Ajmer in January, 1562.<sup>62</sup> The Emperor was informed by Chagta Khan that Sharifuddin Hussain Mirza was further contemplating complete annihilation of the Raja and the latter out of fear had taken shelter in the neighbouring hills. Chagta Khan, in order to win the support and sympathy of the Emperor, eulogised the qualities of Raja Bharamal and remarked that "the Raja was eminent for wisdom and valour and had always been loyal to the sublime family, had done excellent services and had conducted himself as one of those who were firmly bound to the sublime saddle-straps".<sup>63</sup> The Emperor was

<sup>59</sup> Nancy's *Khyat*, II, p. 13 (foot note).

<sup>60</sup> *Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, II, p. 241.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.* *Umra-i-Hinood* (Urdu), p. 76. *Masir-ul-umara*, I, p. 40.

further advised by the Khan to own the Raja since he would prove to be a tower of strength to him.<sup>61</sup>

The passionate appeal of Chagtai Khan produced the desired effect on the Emperor who was on his way to Ajmer. The Emperor sent orders to Raja Bharamal to present himself in the imperial camp when they reached near Amber. When the imperial camp moved to Deosa (20 miles east of Jaipur) it was found by those present in it that the local inhabitants were leaving the city in panic. The Emperor wanted to know the cause of the flight of the people and he was informed by his courtiers that the oppressions of Sharifuddin Hussain had created a sense of terror amongst the people residing there and for fear of further troubles at the hands of the Imperialists, they were running away. The Mughal Emperor tried to allay the suspicion of the people and told them that he had no other intention but to do good to all mankind.<sup>62</sup>

Akbar directed that the headman of the place should be brought before him. At the close of the first day of the encampment Jaimal, the son of Rupsi—the headman of the district, came and paid homage to the Emperor.<sup>63</sup>

The appearance of Jaimal did not satisfy the Emperor and he demanded the attendance of Rupsi in person. Thus, when Jaimal came into royal presence, Akbar remarked : "Jaimal's coming cannot be taken into account. Rupsi must recognize our advent as a great gift of God and himself come and kiss the threshold".<sup>64</sup> At the direction of the Emperor, Rupsi presented himself at the imperial camp at Deosa. On the following day, Raja Bharamal was presented by Chagtai Khan before Akbar at Sanganer (6 miles east of Jaipur).<sup>65</sup>

But *Umara-i-Hinood* has got a different tale to tell. According to it Akbar wanted to meet Raja Bharamal personally but the Raja was not sure of the attitude of the Emperor and, therefore, sent his brother Rupsi and the latter's son Jaimal to Akbar in order to know his reaction. The two Kachhwaha princes met the Emperor at Deosa. Akbar was not satisfied with the visit of these two members of the Kachhwaha family as he wanted the personal attendance of Raja Bharamal, the ruler of Amber. When the desire of the Emperor was conveyed to the Raja, the latter left his son Bhagwant Das to look after the family at Amber and presented himself before the Emperor

<sup>61</sup> *Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, II, p. 241.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>64</sup> *Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, II, p. 241.

*Sawanih-i-Akbari*, (Persian MSS.), p. 52.

*Maasir-ul-umara*, translated by H. Beveridge, I, p. 410.

<sup>65</sup> *Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, II, p. 241.

at Sanganer.<sup>69</sup> Though *Umara-i-Hinood* is a work of later date still the facts stated in it seem to be convincing. Raja Bharamal, a farsighted ruler that he was, thought it inexpedient to meet the Emperor at the very first invitation because he was not sure of the treatment that would be meted out to him in the imperial camp. He was apprehensive because of the troubles that he suffered at the hands of the imperial faujdar, Sharifuddin Hussain Mirza. Thus, Rupsi was sent to the Emperor as the representative of the Raja. When Raja Bharamal saw that his brother was received warmly at the imperial camp and further when he found that Akbar wanted to befriend him, he decided to visit the Emperor in person at Sanganer. He came into the royal presence with many of his relations and leading men of the Kachhwaha clan.<sup>70</sup> Abul Fazl observes : "His Majesty with his discerning glance read devotion and sincerity in the behaviour of the Raja and his relatives. He captured his (Raja's) heart by kindness and exalted his rank".<sup>71</sup>

*Umara-i-Hinood* further states that Raja Bharamal was received very warmly by Akbar and he was conferred a *mansab* of 5000 and was admitted in the Court nobility.<sup>72</sup>

Either in this meeting or some time after it the proposal about the marriage of the Kachhwaha princess with Akbar was mooted. As a sequel the marriage between the daughter of Raja Bharamal and Akbar, the Mughal Emperor, was celebrated in the most befitting manner at Sambhar (41 miles west of Jaipur) in March, 1562.<sup>73</sup> The marriage had its rewards for the Kachhwahas. The Emperor at once ordered Sharifuddin Hussain Mirza to produce the hostages and return the booty to Raja Bharamal. Immediately on receiving the order, the Mirza produced Jagannath Singh, Rajsingh and Kangar (who were kept as hostages) before the Emperor and they were given back to the Raja with due courtesy and honour. This was not the only reward. Kuar Bhagwant Das and Kuar Man Singh, son and grandson respectively of Bharamal, were given high offices in the Imperial Service. They attached themselves to the camp of the Emperor and proceeded on to the capital.<sup>74</sup>

From now onwards Raja Bharamal continued to rule Amber undisturbed, and he gradually rose to eminence. He was given the *mansab* of 5000.<sup>75</sup> He served the Mughal Emperor in different capa-

<sup>69</sup> *Umara-i-Hinood*, (Urdu), p. 76.

<sup>70</sup> *Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, II, p. 241.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 242.

<sup>72</sup> *Umara-i-Hinood*, p. 76.

<sup>73</sup> *Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, II, p. 243.

<sup>74</sup> *Sawanih-i-Akbari*, (Persian Ms.), p. 52 (b).

<sup>75</sup> *Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, II, p. 243.

<sup>76</sup> *Maasir-ul-umara*, translated by H. Beveridge, I, p. 410



RAJA  
BHAGWANT  
DAS

RAJA  
MAN SINGH

RAJA  
BHAO SINGH

*(Photograph taken from Jaipur Museum)*



cities. He remained on the throne of Amber for over twenty-five years, i.e. from June, 1547 to January, 1573.<sup>76</sup>

Raja Bharamal was succeeded by his eldest son, Raja Bhagwant Das, who ascended the throne of Amber on Magh Sudi 6, V. S. 1630,<sup>77</sup> i.e. 7th February, 1573. Raja Bhagwant Das was a powerful general and an able administrator. He showed great valour in the battle of Sarnal<sup>78</sup> (Gujarat) in which he endangered his life for the cause of the Emperor. For this noble service he was honoured by the Emperor with the grant of 'danka' (Drum) and flag. He rendered valuable services to Akbar in Gujarat expedition of 1572. Raja Bhagwant Das also successfully held the governorship of the Punjab for about seven years (i.e. 1582-'89). He was a *Punch-hazari Mansabdar* of the Mughal Empire and he died at Lahore in November, 1589.<sup>79</sup>

Raja Bhagwant Das was succeeded by Raja Man Singh on Magh Budi 5, V. S. 1646, i.e. 11th January, 1590.<sup>80</sup>

<sup>76</sup> Genealogical Table in the State Archives of Jaipur.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>78</sup> In this battle Akbar had attacked the Afghan rebel, Ibrahim Hussain Mirza, with a small force of 200 in 1572.

<sup>79</sup> *Maasir-ul-umara*, translated by H. Beveridge, I, p. 405.

*Akbar-nama*, translated by H. Beveridge, III, p. 863.

<sup>80</sup> Genealogical Table in the State Archives of Jaipur.

## CHAPTER II

### PARENTAGE OF RAJA MAN SINGH

The story of the parentage of Man Singh is highly confusing and conflicting views have been expressed about it by different writers. Some of the contemporary Muslim historians are of the opinion that Man Singh was the son of Raja Bhagwan Das whereas some others hold the view that Raja Bhagwant Das was the father of Man Singh. The European historians like Colonel Tod and V. A. Smith affirm that Man Singh was the adopted son of Raja Bhagwan Das. The Rajput chroniclers like Nancy state that Raja Bhagwan Das was the father of Man Singh whereas some of the Rajasthani *Khyats* tell us that Man Singh was the son of Raja Bhagwant Das.

Let us study the question by referring to the different contemporary sources and arrive at some definite conclusion.

Amongst the contemporary Muslim historians of the period under review, the first name that strikes us is that of Khwaja Nizamuddin Ahmad who was a contemporary of Akbar and was in his service for many years. In his book '*Tabaqat-i-Akbari*' he writes that Bihari Mal was the first Rajput prince to enter into the service of the Mughal Emperor. His son's name was Bhagwan Das and the latter's son was Man Singh and all the three became kings of Amber in right succession.<sup>1</sup>

Shaikh Abdul Qadir Badaoni was another contemporary Muslim historian. In his '*Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*' Badaoni states that Man Singh was the son of Raja Bhagwan Das.<sup>2</sup>

Muhammad Qasim Firishta in his book '*Tarikh-i-Firishta*' notes that Bharamal, Bhagwan Das and Man Singh were the successive rulers of Amber.<sup>3</sup>

In his 'Memoirs' Emperor Jahangir strikes a different note. He mentions that Raja Bhagwan Das was the uncle of Man Singh and he also enumerates the names of the three sons of Raja Bhagwan Das, viz., Ramjee, Bijai Ram and Shyam Ram,

...' و پسران اچہ بھگوان داس کے عموں راجہ مان سنگھ بود ...<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, translated in Elliot History of India, V, pp. 273, 346, 361, 393, 402, 422.

<sup>2</sup> *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, translated by W. H. Lowe, II, pp. 144, 233

<sup>3</sup> *Tarikh-i-Firishta*, translated by Briggs, II, pp. 236, 237, 252, 253, 258, 259.

<sup>4</sup> *Jahangirnamah*, (Persian MS), p. 47A, written in 1029 A.H. i.e. 1620 A.D.

At another place, the Emperor writes that Man Singh's father's name was Bhaku Das and his grandfather was Bharamal,

پسرش را بیکو داس نام را شد و پدر کلا دش بھاری مل بود<sup>5</sup> ...

Here the confusion deepens and the question arises as to who was this Bhaku Das.

Abul Fazl belongs to that school of contemporary Muslim historians who believe that Man Singh was the son of Raja Bhagwant Das, the heir to Raja Bihari Mal.<sup>6</sup> He further states that Raja Bhagwant Das was the eldest son of Raja Biharimal.<sup>7</sup>

In 'Maasir-i-Jahangiri' the word Bhagunath Das has been used in place of Bhagwan Das or Bhagwant Das.<sup>8</sup>

Thus, so far we have this much of information that according to Khwaja Nizamuddin Ahmad, Shaikh Abdul Qadir Badaoni and Muhammad Qasim Firishta, Man Singh was the son of Raja Bhagwan Das but Abul Fazl, the Court historian of Akbar, notes that Man Singh was the son of Raja Bhagwant Das. Emperor Jahangir opines that Man Singh was the nephew of Bhagwan Das and the son of Bhaku Das. On the basis of the above information, no definite conclusion can be arrived at about the parentage of Man Singh.

Let us see if the contemporary Hindu sources help us in coming to any definite conclusion on this point.

The *Khyats* of Banki Das inform us that Raja Bharamal had six sons named Bhagwant Das, Bhagwan Das, Raja Jagannath, Singhaldi, Sundar Das and Sadul. It further notes that Man Singh was the son of Bhagwant Das.<sup>9</sup>

Sri Krishna Rai mentions in his 'Kachhwaha's *Vansawali*' that Raja Bhagwant Das became the king of Amber and Bhagwan Das ascended the throne of Lavana. He further states that Raja Bhagwant had five sons and two daughters, viz., Raja Man Singh, Madho Singh, Sur Singh, Bannali Das and Kanji and his daughter's names were respectively Manbhavati and Kusumvati who died in infancy.<sup>10</sup>

Let us examine what Nancy has to say about it. According to Pandit Gourishankar Hirachand Ojha, Muhnot Nancy composed his *Khyats* between 1707 V. S. and 1722 V. S. (i.e. between 1650 A. D. and 1665 A. D.).<sup>11</sup> Nancy has given a list of ten sons of Raja

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 22 (b).

<sup>6</sup> *Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, II, p. 244.

<sup>7</sup> *Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, II, p. 242.

<sup>8</sup> *Maasir-i-Jahangir*, (Persian Ms.) p. 8b.

<sup>9</sup> *Banki Das ri Khyat*, edited by Narottam Das Swami, *Khyat* Nos. 1413, 1416, p. 124.

<sup>10</sup> *Kachhwaha's Vansawali*, by Krishna Rai (Rajasthani MS), pp. 34b & 35b.

<sup>11</sup> Pt Gourishankar Hirachand Ojha's Article entitled "An enigma in the history of Kachhwahas". (Madhuri, 1926, p. 766).

Bharamal, viz., Bhagwant Das, Raja Bhagwan Das, Bhopat, Sálhadi, Sadul, Sundar, Prithwidip, Rupchand, Parsuram and Raja Jagannath.<sup>12</sup> Nancy further points out that Raja Bhagwan Das became the ruler of Amber after Raja Bharamal.<sup>13</sup> He has also given a Genealogical Table in which he has indicated the descendants of Raja Bhagwan Das. In this Table, Nancy has shown that Man Singh was the eldest son of Raja Bhagwan Das :

Raja Bhagwan Das<sup>14</sup>

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Raja Man Madhava Sur Pratap Kanh Chandra- Har- Banmali Bhim  
Singh Singh Singh Sen das Das Singh

Nancy writes that Bhagwant Das had two sons named Mohan Das and Akheraj.<sup>15</sup>

Pandit Gouri Shankar Hirachand Ojha comes forward to throw some light on this complicated issue with four *Khyats* which he discovered in Jaipur. In one of these, there is mention of ten sons of Bharamal, viz., Bhagwant Das, Bhagwan Das, Jagannath, Parsuram, Sardul, Sálhadi, Sundar Das, Prithwidip, Ramchandra and Vithal Das. This *Khyat* also enumerates the names of the four sons of Bhagwant Das viz., Man Singh, Madhava Singh, Sur Singh and Banmali Das. It further confirms the fact that Raja Man Singh succeeded his father as the ruler of Amber. It also tells us that Bhagwan Das had three sons named Akheraj, Harram and Arjun.<sup>16</sup>

In the second *Khyat*, the following ten sons have been assigned to Raja Bharamal :

Bhagwantdas, Sundar Das, Prithwidip, Bhagwan Das, Rupsi or Rupchand, Jagannath, Mahesh Das, Sadul, Mopat and Parsuram.

This *Khyat* also asserts that Bhagwant Das ascended the throne of Amber and further tells us that Bhagwan Das was the ruler of Lavayan or Lavan and he had two sons named Akheraj and Hirderam. It also confirms the fact that Min Singh became the ruler of Amber after the death of Bhagwant Das.<sup>17</sup>

The third and fourth *Khyats* in possession of Pandit Ojha affirm that Bhagwant Das became the ruler of Amber after Raja Bharamal and on the death of Raja Bhagwant, his eldest son, Raja Man Singh ascended the throne.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Nancy's *Khyat*, II, p. 13.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 18.

<sup>16</sup> Pt. Gourishankar Hirachand Ojha's Article entitled "An enigma in the history of Kachhwahas". (Madhuri, 1926, p. 766).

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*

The Genealogical Table in the State Archives of Jaipur gives the following table with regard to the descendants of Raja Bharamal.

Bharamal

Bhagwant Das (He ruled the State)	Bhagwan Das	Jagannath
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Poet Bhusan further confirms that Man Singh was the son of Bhagwant Das when he quotes the following lines :

अकबर पायो भगवंत के तने सो मान,  
बहुरि जगतसिंह महामरदाने सो,  
भूषण त्यों पायो जहांगीर मानसिंहजू सो,  
शाहिजहां पायो जयसिंह जगजाने सो ।  
अब अबरंगजेब पायो रामसिंहजू सो,  
औरा दिन दिन पैहे, कुरम के माने सो,  
केते राजा रायमान पावै पातसाहन सो,  
पावै पातसाह मान मान के घराने सो ।<sup>19</sup>

*Translation :* "Akbar received greatness from Man Singh, the son of Bhagwant Das and then again from the manly Jagat Singh. Bhusan states that Jehangir got it from Man Singh and Shahjahan from world renowned Jai Singh, Aurangzeb has received honour from Ram Singh and will continuously get from the dynasty of Kachhwahas. Other Rajas and Princes received honours from the Emperors (i.e. the Mughal Emperors) while the latter received honours and greatness from the House of Man Singh".

Vans Bhaskar<sup>20</sup> also asserts that Man Singh was the son of Bhagwant Das. It observes :

कुमार हुतो भगवंत के, धरत मान अभिधान,  
अकबर सालक होय हैं, वालक व्याह विधान ।

*Translation :* "A son was born to Bhagwant whom he named Man. Akbar is the brother-in-law of Bhagwant by virtue of matrimonial alliance."

<sup>19</sup> Bhusan-Bharthi, edited by Sri Hardayalu Singh, I, Verse No. 32, p. 251 (published from Indian Press Ltd., Prayag).

<sup>20</sup> Vans Bhaskar, VII, p. 2294.

Pandit Pundarik Vithal, a great musician of Akbar's time, wrote a treatise on music named "*Ragmanjari*". He was in the service of Madhava Singh of Amber who was a son of Bhagwant Das and also the brother of Man Singh. In this book, he describes the greatness of his master, Madhava Singh and casually refers to his parentage.

“श्रीमल्कच्छपवंश दीपक महाराजाधिरजेश्वर तेजपुंज महाप्रताप निकटोभानुः क्षितो राष्ट्रतः  
तस्यासीद् भगवन्तदात्प तनयो वीराधिवीरेश्वरः क्षोणी मण्डल मण्डनो विजयते भूमण्डला खण्डलः ।  
तस्य द्वात् तनयौ प्रभूत विनयौ शूरौ महाधामिको जातौ पर्वित रथालंजौ त्वक्षरक्षोणीपतः स्वैरुमौ  
सिहौ माधवमान पूर्वपदकौ संग्रामदक्षाद्वौमौ तेजत्याग सहस्र हस्तमलितौ श्रीसर्वभूतीश्वरौ ।

अक्षर नृपधर्मी शक्तवश्याति भीमो  
धरणि गणनमध्ये जङ्गमो मथमेर  
सकल वृपतिताराम चन्द्र सराविमौद्वौ  
जगति जयन शीलौ माधवमानसिहौ ॥<sup>21</sup>

*Translation :* “Maharajadhiraj Rajeshwar (Sri Bharah Mall), the lamp of Shree Kachhapa dynasty, the wielder of mighty authority, like the bright Sun in the sky, was born of Raja Prithwiraj. Like the gem of the earth and Indra of the Universe, the bravest of the brave, Sri Bhagwant Das was his son. He begot two sons, Madhava and Man Singh, who were exceedingly modest, brave, religious, skilled in warfare like *Sahasrabahu* in display of their power and generosity and were Lords of the entire universe. Both of them (Madhava Singh and Man Singh) were just like the two arms of Emperor Akbar.

Endowed with high quality of statesmanship, Emperor Akbar was superior to even Indra in power and pelf. He was just like *Meru* (mountain) on the firmament of the Earth. All the other kings were like stars but these two conquerors of the world, Madhava Singh and Man Singh, shone like Moon and Sun.”

Thus, Pandit Vithal states that Madhava Singh and Man Singh were the sons of Bhagwant Das and they were bulwark of strength to Akbar. Since the name of Madhava Das comes first and that of

<sup>21</sup> Pundarik Vithal, Pandit, *Ragmanjari*, p. 1, (published by Aryabhusan Press, Poona).

Man Singh after him in the above stanza, it leads Pandit Gourishankar Hirachand to conclude that Madhava Singh was the elder of the two.<sup>22</sup>

But Pandit Ojha is mistaken in his view. If Madhava Singh had been elder, he would have succeeded to the throne of Amber and not Man Singh after the death of Raja Bhagwant Das. Besides, all the *Khyats* that are mentioned above contend that Man Singh was the eldest and Madhava Singh was the second son of Bhagwant Das. If Pandit Vithal first mentions the name of Madhava Singh and then that of Man Singh, it was not because Madhava Singh was the elder but because he was the master and employer of the Pandit and out of respect for his master, he did so. It was at the direction of Madhava Singh that Pandit Vithal wrote his book "*Ragmanjari*". This fact is borne out by the following lines of the book :

अगणित गणकचिकित्सक वेदान्तन्याय शब्दशास्त्रज्ञ,  
दृष्ट्यन्ते वाहवः सङ्गीता नात्र दृष्ट्यतेऽयेकः ।<sup>23</sup>  
इत्युक्ते भाष्ये सिंहे विद्वलेन द्विजन्मना  
नत्वा गणेश्वरं देवं रक्ष्यते रागमञ्जरी ॥

*Translation :* "There are many who are astrologers, physicians, philosophers, logicians and grammarians but none versed in music is found. On these words of Sri Madhava Singh, after paying due obeisance to Lord Ganesh, *Ragmanjari* is being composed by Brahman Vithal."

Under this circumstance, it is quite natural that the Court musician should pay due respect to his employer by mentioning the name of Madhava Singh before that of Man Singh with whom he had no concern. Besides, Pandit Vithal compares Madhava Singh to the Moon and Man Singh to the Sun and thus involuntarily makes Man Singh superior to Madhava Singh since Sun has always been regarded as superior to Moon.

The fact that Man Singh was the son of Bhagwant Das is further corroborated by a Stone Inscription which is lying at present in the Archaeological Museum at Amber. This Stone Inscription belongs to V. S. 1669, Phalgun Sudi 5, i.e. 26th February, 1612, A. D. and thus furnishes a valuable evidence about the parentage of Man Singh. This Inscription traces the genealogy of Raja Man Singh right from Raja Prithwiraj, viz. :

<sup>22</sup> 'An enigma in the history of the Kachhwahas'. (Madhuri, 1926, p. 765).

<sup>23</sup> Pundarik Vithal, Pandit, *Ragmanjari*, p. 2.

“खल्ति श्री मन्नुपविकमादित्य राज्यातीत संवत् १६६९ शालि । वाहन शकातीत १५३४ फाल्गुन शुक्ल ५ रविवासरे श्रीमज्जाहांगीर साहि सलेम राज्य वर्तमाने श्रीरघुवंशतिलक कछवाह । कुलमंडल श्री राजा पृथ्वीराज तत्पुत्र श्री राजा मारहमल्ल तत्पुत्र श्री राजा । भगवन्तदास तत्पुत्र सकल नरेन्द्र चूडामनि प्रताप पराभूत समस्त । शत्रुघण समस्त पृथ्वीविजय प्राप्त महायशोराशि विराजमान श्रीमहाराजाधिराज मानसिंह नरेन्द्र कारितं रामगढ़ प्राकाराख्यं दुर्ग कुपारामोप । शोभितं तत्र परमपवित्र श्रीपद्माकर पुरोहित पुत्र श्रीपुरोहित पितां । वरस्याधिकारे सिद्धं ॥ तत्र कार्यं निजुक्ता शिल्पिन ॥ ततद्वैशीय निजामश्च । अन्ये च तन्मतानुसारिणः ॥

*Translation :* “On Sunday, 5th day of Phalgun Shukla, V. S. 1669, Saka Era 1534, during the reign of Emperor Jahangir, this fort, well and garden named Rajgarh was built by celebrated Maharajadhiraj Sri Man Singh, the greatest among the kings, the vanquisher of the entire foes with his prowess and the conqueror of the entire universe, was the son of Bhagwant Das, who was the son of Bharamal, the latter was the son of Raja Prithwiraj, the most respected amongst the rulers of Raghu Dynasty and the gem among the Kachhwahas. This was completed under the supervision of Priest Pitamber, the son of holy Priest, Padamakar. Several artisans besides the governor of the place and his subordinates were employed in this enterprise.”

Another important piece of evidence in this connection has been furnished by the Wall Inscription of the Govinddeo Temple at Brindaban. The inscriptions are both in Hindi and Sanskrit. The Hindi Inscription is as follows :

“संवत् ३४ श्रीनाराकंथ अकब-१ शाह राज्ये श्रीकर्मकुल श्रीपृथ्वीराजा धिराजदेश महाराज श्रीमगवंतदास सुत श्रीमहाराजाधिराज श्रीमानसिं-  
थदेव श्रीबृंदावनजोधपीठस्थान मंदिर कह जौ श्रीगोविन्ददेव कौ ।”

*Translation :* “This temple of Shri Govinddeo in the Yogapith of Brindaban was constructed by Shri Maharajadhiraj Shri Man Singh, the son of Shri Bhagwant Das Ji, descendant of Shri Karmakul Shri Emperor Prithwiraj during the reign of Shri Akbar Shah in Samvat 34.”

The Sanskrit Inscription states :

..... क्षितिपतिः श्रीमानसिंधासिंघ पृथ्वीराजाधिराज .....  
भा-१ हमल्लजात मगवद्दासात्मं जो मन्दिरं कुर्वति.....

*Translation :* ". . . The temple was constructed by Sri Man Singh, son of Bhagwat Das, son of Bharah Mall, . . . scion of Emperor Prithwiraj. . . ."

Let us now examine the European sources to see if they can give us any correct information on this point.

Colonel Tod, who has written a comprehensive history of Rajputana, observes that Bhagwan Das succeeded Raja Bharamal to the throne of Amber and he had three more brothers named Surat Singh, Madhava Singh and Jagat Singh. He further states that Man Singh was the son of Jagat Singh and he ascended the throne of Amber after the death of Bhagwan Das.<sup>24</sup>

Mr. V. A. Smith holds the opinion that Man Singh was the adopted son of Raja Bhagwan Das, for he notes : "Man Singh's father, or more accurately adoptive father, Raja Bhagwan Das of Amber or Jaipur had done the Emperor good service. . . ."<sup>25</sup>

H. Blochmann writes that "European historians mention Man Singh as the adopted son of Raja Bhagwan Das"<sup>26</sup> but he does not state the name of any European historian.

Amongst the modern historians of Rajasthan, the most reputed is the late Rai Bahadur Gouri Shankar Hirachand Ojha. He has stated that Man Singh was the second son of Bhagwant Das, and was adopted by Bhagwan Das, the ruler of Amber.<sup>27</sup>

In the midst of these conflicting opinions, let us now apply the principle of elimination and try to come to some definite conclusion. First of all, we should consider the version of Colonel Tod. He notes that Bhagwan Das had three more brothers named Surat Singh, Madhava Singh and Jagat Singh. The first objection that can be raised against the statement is that Colonel Tod has not quoted any authority on the basis of which he has drawn the above conclusion. The second objection to it is that all the Hindu sources more especially the Stone Inscriptions of Amber and Brindaban, *Ragmanjari* and *Akbarnama* have stated emphatically that Man Singh was the son of Raja Bhagwant Das. Moreover, the contemporary Muslim writers like Badaoni, Firishta and Khwaja Nizamuddin have observed that Bhagwan Das was the father of Man Singh. None of them has referred to Jagat Singh as being the father of Man Singh. Besides, there is another point in the observation of Colonel Tod that has to be taken into consideration. He states that Madhava Singh was a brother of Raja Bhagwan Das. The "*Ragmanjari*" and the other

<sup>24</sup> Tod, Colonel, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, II, p. 353 (footnote).

<sup>25</sup> Smith, V. A., *Akbar The Great Mogal*, p. 242.

<sup>26</sup> *Ain-i-Ahbari*, translated by H. Blochmann, I, p. 339.

<sup>27</sup> Ojha, Gouri Shankar Hirachand, *History of Udaipur*, III, p. 738.

Hindu sources have clearly mentioned that Man Singh and Madhava Singh were own brothers, being the sons of Bhagwant or Bhagwan Das. Thus the contention of Colonel Tod does not seem to be correct.

Let us consider in this connection the question whether Bhagwant Das and Bhagwan Das were identical or two different persons. The Rajasthani *Khyats* and Genealogical Tables of the Kachhwaha rulers of Amber have clearly stated that Bhagwant and Bhagwan Das were two different persons and both were sons of Raja Bharamal. This view has been accepted by the reputed historians of Rajasthan, namely Pt. Gourishankar Hirachand Ojha<sup>28</sup> and Dr. Raghbir Singh.<sup>29</sup> All these lead us to believe that Bhagwant Das and Bhagwan Das were two different persons though sons of the same father. Let us now ascertain the truth as to who was the elder son of Raja Bharamal.

The Genealogical Table in Jaipur Archives, the different Rajasthani *Khyats* and the Stone Inscriptions of Amber Museum and Govinddeva temple at Brindaban affirm that Raja Bhagwant Das was the eldest son and successor of Raja Bharamal. Besides, Abul Fazl, the Court historian of Akbar, also asserts that Raja Bhagwant Das was the eldest son of Raja Bharamal.<sup>30</sup>

These observations lead us to conclude that Bhagwant Das was the eldest son of Raja Bharamal and on the death of the latter, Raja Bhagwant ascended the throne of Amber on Magh Sudi 6, V. S. 1630, i.e. 7th February, 1573 A. D.

It was the same Raja Bhagwant who was a leading noble of Akbar's Court and took conspicuous part in some of the important campaigns organised on behalf of the Mughal Emperor.

Now, the question arises as to whose son was Man Singh. *Akbar-nama*, *Jahangirnamah*,<sup>31</sup> *Banki Das's Khyat*, *Kachhwaha's Vansawali*, *Poet Bhusan*, *Vansbhaskar*, *Ragmanjari*, the Genealogical Table in Jaipur Archives—all assert that Man Singh was the son of Raja Bhagwant Das. The most convincing proof in its support is to be found in the Stone Inscriptions of Amber museum and Govinddeva temple at Brindaban which trace the genealogy of the Amber rulers right from Raja Prithviraj and state unequivocally that Raja Bhagwant Das was the father of Man Singh. It may be regarded as a highly important piece of evidence belonging to the age of Kuar Man Singh. Thus, these evidences belie the contention that the Kuar was the natural or the adopted son of Raja Bhagwan Das. It would be more historically true to say that Man Singh ascended the throne of Amber

<sup>28</sup> Ojha, 'Gourishankar Hirachand, *History of Udaipur*, III, p. 738.

<sup>29</sup> Singh, Raghbir, *Purva-Adhunik Rajasthan*, p. 74 (footnote).

<sup>30</sup> *Akbar-nama*, translated by H. Beveridge, II, p. 242.

<sup>31</sup> *Jahangirnamah* states that Man Singh was the son of Bhaku Das. It may be the shorter name of Bhagunath (used in *Maasir-i-Jahangiri*) or Bhagwant Das.

by the Law of Primogeniture, being the eldest son of Raja Bhagwant Das.

Further, if some contemporary Muslim historians like Nizamud-din, Firishta and Badaoni stated that Man Singh was the son of Bhagwan Das, their evidence cannot be regarded as authentic, for there was great likelihood of their being confused between Bhagwant and Bhagwan Das. They perhaps chose the latter name as it was easier to write or express in the Persian language.

Moreover, it appears strange that Bhagwan Das should adopt Man Singh when he himself had several sons. The first *Khyat* in the collection of Pandit Gourishankar Hirachand Ojha tells us that Raja Bhagwan Das had three sons named Akheraj, Harram and Arjun. The second *Khyat* of Pandit Ojha further tells us that Bhagwan Das was the ruler of Lavayan or Lavan and he had two sons named Hirderam and Akheraj. The '*Kachhwaha's Vansawali*' observes that Raja Bhagwan Das was called "*Bankawat*"<sup>32</sup> (the brave). Thus, it can be safely said that Man Singh was not the natural or adopted son of Raja Bhagwan Das but was his nephew as stated in *Jahangirnamah*.<sup>33</sup>

Kuar Man Singh, eldest son of Raja Bhagwant Das, was born on Sunday, Paus Budi 13, V. S. 1607, i.e. 21st December, 1550 A. D.<sup>34</sup> His mother's name was Rani Bhagoti (Bhagwati) Pawar, the chief wife of Raja Bhagwant Das.<sup>35</sup> On the birth of the Kuar, the astrologers predicted a brilliant and prosperous career for him. But they also sounded an ominous note, for they informed Raja Bharimal that on account of the influence of some evil stars, the boy was likely to fall in trouble. They further advised the Raja that in order to ward off the danger, special arrangement for the Kuar's stay should be made at a place away from Amber for a period of twelve years.<sup>36</sup> On the advice of astrologers, Raja Bharimal, grandfather of the Kuar, got a palace built for Man Singh at Muazzamabad (forty miles south of Amber).<sup>37</sup>

Kuar Man Singh was sent to the new palace at Muazzamabad under the guardianship of his mother. A band of one hundred boys to serve as friends and playmates accompanied the Kuar. Rani Bhagoti made suitable arrangements for the education of the Kuar. The latter was given a special training in the arts of archery, horse-riding and sword-fighting. By the time, the Kuar attained the age of twelve, he obtained high proficiency in military training. Though still a boy, he showed all the traits of an accomplished soldier.

<sup>32</sup> *Kachhwaha's Vansawali*, (Rajasthani MS), p. 83 (b).

<sup>33</sup> *Jahangirnamah*, (Persian MS), p. 47 (a).

<sup>34</sup> Genealogical Table in the State Archives of Jaipur.

<sup>35</sup> *Farzand Daulat Maharajah Sri Man Singhji I*, (MS), p. 1.

<sup>36</sup> *Kachhwaha's Vansawali* (MS), p. 34.

<sup>37</sup> *Farzand Daulat Maharajah Sri Man Singhji*, pp. 1-2.

In 1562, Kuar Man Singh returned to Amber and his arrival coincided with the marriage of the daughter of Raja Bharamal with Akbar. Though the Kuar was dark in complexion he won the admiration of the Emperor by his charming manners and amiable disposition.<sup>38</sup> The olive complexioned<sup>39</sup> Kuar was appointed in the Imperial Mughal Service in 1562 ; for Abul Fazl states : "Man Singh, the son of Raja Bhagwant Das, the heir of Raja Bihari Mal was then exalted by the auspicious ray of His Majesty's glance and was made a permanent servant".<sup>40</sup>

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>39</sup> It has been stated in Introduction to a 19th century work named "*Ishwar Vilas Mahakavyam*" and also in some later local histories e.g. *History of the Nathawalis* which I studied in Jaipur that when Akbar saw the dark complexion of Kuar Man Singh, he jokingly asked "Well, Man Singh ! Where were you when God was distributing beauty in heaven ?" Promptly came the reply, "Your Majesty ! I was in my prayer room at that time but I was present to receive valour and manliness when the Almighty in His Mercy was distributing the same." In my opinion, it seems to be a figment of imagination of the later writers and as such, cannot be accepted.

<sup>40</sup> *Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, II, p. 244.

## CHAPTER III

### KUAR MAN SINGH IN THE MUGHAL IMPERIAL SERVICE

Kuar Man Singh entered the Mughal Imperial Service in 1562 at the age of twelve.<sup>1</sup> He received good military training under the guidance of Emperor Akbar and proved to be one of his ablest and most trusted generals. The Kuar and his father, Raja Bhagwant Das, received from the Mughal Emperor important assignments which both of them fulfilled with admirable skill, courage and foresight. The first opportunity of serving Akbar came at the time of the siege of Ranthambhor.

Ranthambhor, during the Mughal period, was a sort of great importance on account of its impregnable position. The fort is about 200 miles south-west of Delhi. During the reign of Akbar it was the stronghold of the *Hara* section of the *Chauhan* clan in Rajputana. They held the fort as a fief of the ruler of Mewar.<sup>2</sup>

Akbar was anxious to establish his hegemony over the whole of Rajputana. He was conscious of the fact that his desire would not be fulfilled unless he secured control over the fort of Ranthambhor, which was the seat of a powerful section of the Rajputs. So on 21st December, 1568, Akbar marched from Agra with a large army and reached Ranthambhor on 10th February, 1569.<sup>3</sup>

There seems to be a lot of exaggeration and inaccuracy in the accounts of the contemporary Muslim and European writers regarding the conquest of the formidable fort of Ranthambhor. Tod in his "Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan" has given a graphic description of the siege and capture of this fortress of Rajasthan. Tod states :

"Ranthambhor was an early object of Akbar's attention, who besieged it in person. He had been some time before its impregnable walls without the hope of its surrender, when Bhagwan Das of Amber and his son, the more celebrated Raja Maun, who had not only tendered their allegiance to Akbar, but allied themselves to him by marriage, determined to use their influence to make Soorjun Hara

<sup>1</sup> *Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, II, p. 244.

<sup>2</sup> Tod, Colonel, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, II, pp. 472-73 (published in London, 1882).

<sup>3</sup> *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, translated by B. De, II, p. 352.

*Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, II, pp. 489 & 494.

faithless to his pledge to hold the castle as a fief of Cheetore. That courtesy which is never laid aside amongst belligerent Rajpoots, obtained Raja Maun access to the castle, and the Emperor accompanied in the guise of a mace-bearer. While conversing, an uncle of the Rao recognized the Emperor, and with that sudden impulse which arises from respect, took the mace from his hand and placed Akbar on the 'cushion' of the governor of the castle. Akbar's presence of mind did not forsake him and he said 'Well, Rao Soorjun ! What is to be done ?' which was replied to by Raja Maun 'Leave the Rana, give up Ranthambhor and become the servant of the king, with high honours and office.' The proffered bribe was indeed magnificent ; the government of fifty-two districts, whose revenue to be appropriated without inquiry, on furnishing the customary contingent and liberty to name any other terms, which should be solemnly guaranteed by the king.

A treaty was drawn up upon the spot, and mediated by the Prince of Amber, (Jaipur) which presents a good picture of Hindu feeling. The terms were : (i) that the chiefs of Boondi should be exempted from that custom, degrading to a Rajpoot, of sending a *Dola* (bride) to the royal harem. (ii) Exemption from the jezeya or poll tax. (iii) That the chiefs of Boondi should not be compelled to cross the Attoc. (iv) That the vassals of Boondi should be exempted from the obligation of sending their wives or female relatives "to hold a stall in the Meena Bazar" at the palace, on the festival of Noroza. (v) That they should have the privilege of entering the *Dewan-aum* or "hall of audience" completely armed. (vi) That their sacred edifices should be respected. (vii) That they should never be placed under the command of a Hindu leader.<sup>4</sup> (viii) That their horses should not be branded with the imperial *dagh* (Stamp). (ix) That they should be allowed to beat their *nakarras* or 'kettle-drums' in the streets of the capital, as far as the *Lal Darwaja* (Red Gate) and that they should not be commanded to make the 'prostration' (*Sijdah*) on entering the Presence. (x) That Boondi should be to the Haras what Delhi was to the king, who should guarantee them from any change of capital."<sup>5</sup>

This detailed story, as told by Colonel Tod, is worthy of critical

<sup>4</sup> In my opinion, it should be read as 'Muslim' because why should a Hindu object to be placed under the command of a fellow Hindu leader?

<sup>5</sup> Tod, Colonel, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, II, pp. 472-73 (published in London, 1832).

consideration. The Colonel informs us that the above mentioned description is based on materials supplied by the State of Bundi.<sup>6</sup>

Let us examine the question whether Kuar Man Singh played the role of a mediator as depicted by Colonel Tod. Kuar Man Singh was only 18 years old (Being born in December, 1550) when Akbar besieged the fortress of Ranthambhor. The statement of Tod that the Kuar entered the fort accompanied by Akbar disguised as a mace-bearer is not convincing. How could Emperor Akbar, a man of great foresight and sound judgment, risk his life by entering into the impregnable fortress of his enemies attended by a lad of eighteen? Besides, along with Kuar Man Singh, there was present in the Mughal camp, Raja Bhagwant Das—an experienced diplomat and veteran warrior of the imperial Court. Assuming for the time being that Akbar visited the enemy's camp inside the fort of Ranthambhor, it is not understandable why he chose Kuar Man instead of Raja Bhagwant? Moreover, the then State capital of the Mughals was not Delhi but Agra. Then why should "Bundi be to the Haras what Delhi was to the king" (Akbar) as stated by Colonel Tod? These are the doubts which assail us while examining the statement of Tod. Let us see what other contemporary writers have to say in this matter.

Abul Fazl observes : "Surjan's heart gave way. He took recourse to the intercession of the courtiers and sent his sons Duda and Bhoj to Court. They asked forgiveness for their father's offences and requested that they might be allowed to perform the prostration. Their request was granted. They were given robes of honour and sent back to their father."<sup>7</sup>

The Court historian is too brief in his version to enable any satisfactory conclusion being arrived at on its basis.

Khwaja Nizamuddin, however, in his *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, has detailed the circumstances under which Surjan Hara had to surrender to the Mughals. He writes :

"In the beginning of March, 1569, His Majesty turned the bridle of his attention to the conquest of the fort of Ranthambhor and surrounded it as the circumference encloses the centre. Batteries having been carried forward and *Sabats* having been created, breeches were made in several places by cannon shots. When Surjan, the ruler of the fort saw the condition of things, he fell from the zenith

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> *Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, II, p. 434.

of pride and hauteur to the nadir of helplessness and sent his sons named Duda and Bhoj out of the fort and asked for protection. His Majesty showed kindness to them, as they came with humility and piteous lamentations to the threshold, which was splendid like the sky and pardoned their offences. He sent Husain Quli Khan who had the title of Khanjahan into the fort so that he might comfort Surjan Rai and bring him to render homage. The latter came with sincerity and loyalty and was included in the band of the imperial servants . . . . the fort was taken and on the following day, His Majesty went to inspect the fort. The government and the defence of the fort was entrusted to Mehtar Khan and standards were raised for a return to the seat of the caliphate.”<sup>8</sup>

Though there is a close similarity in the statements of Abul Fazl and Nizamuddin, none of them mentions any contribution of Kuar Man Singh in this siege and conquest of the fortress of Ranthambhor.

De Laet, a contemporary Dutch compiler, also throws some light on this invasion of Akbar. He observes : “Shortly by the bravery and energy of Rostan Chan<sup>9</sup> and Zadoch Mamet Khan<sup>10</sup> the strong fortress of Khan Thambhor was captured from its Rauja after a two month’s siege. The king next turned his attention to the fortress of Rotas in the Province of Bahaer (Bihar). . . .”<sup>11</sup>

De Laet ascribes the victory of Ranthambhor to the ‘bravery and energy’ of Dastam Khan and Sadiq Muhammad Khan, the two nobles of the Mughal Court. But he makes no reference to the exploits of Kuar Man Singh in this heroic encounter between the Haras of Bundi and the Mughal Emperor.

Let us refer to some contemporary Hindu sources on this point and try to ascertain their views. Fortunately we have before us a contemporary work of great importance named “*Surjan Charit*”. It was written by the order of Surjan Hara, the governor of Ranthambhor in 1569. The materials supplied by him must be regarded as the best Rajput source regarding the siege and surrender of Ranthambhor. *Surjan Charit* states :

“Having conquered the rest of the earth, Akbar, the Emperor of Delhi, tried to acquire Ranthambhor, the capital of Surjan. Thirteen times the Rajputs beat back the Muslims. The next time, however, the Mughal army was led by the Emperor himself. Surjan was not in the fort at

<sup>8</sup> *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, translated by B. De, pp. 352-55.

<sup>9</sup> Dastam Khan.

<sup>10</sup> Sadiq Muhammad Khan.

<sup>11</sup> De Laet, *The Empire of the Great Mogul*, translated by Hoyland, J. S., p. 152.

that time. But as soon as he heard that the fort had been besieged, he marched out from Puttanpura with a large force to relieve his stronghold. He succeeded in getting there without much difficulty and the very next day, gave battle to the Mughal army which consisted not merely of cavalry and elephants but also of an efficient park of artillery. The fight was of the most furious character. But towards evening, the enemy appeared to be gaining the upper hand, so Surjan himself led an attack and with such effect that Akbar had to appeal to his commanders to stop somehow the victorious advance of this redoubtable Rajput warrior. They killed Surjan's horse, cut his bow-string and pierced his armour. But even then, he fought on with nothing but his trusty sword left to himself and Akbar was constrained to admire this courage and bravery of his gallant enemy. At this stage, evening supervened, so the Emperor retired to his camp and Surjan to the fort".

"The next day when Surjan was getting ready to sally out again with his enemy, a *sachiva* of the Emperor reached the gate of the fort. He was well-received and he delivered the following message : 'Pleased with your bravery, the Emperor rewards you with the territories lying adjacent to the Narmada, the mandal of Mathura and the holy city of Banaras. It is no good fighting against an exceedingly mighty foe. Accept these, therefore, and surrender instead the fort of Ranthambhor to the Emperor'.

"Surjan agreed to these terms, being himself desirous of visiting the sacred places. He, accordingly, left Ranthambhor and went away with his people to the banks of the Narmada".<sup>12</sup>

This Rajput source also is silent about the achievement of Kuar Man Singh in the battle of Ranthambhor. It supplies an important information that a *Sachiva* (Secretary) was sent by Akbar to negotiate the peace treaty with Rai Surjan. But who might be this *Sachiva*? Was he Kuar Man Singh? How could the Kaur, an inexperienced lad of eighteen, be entrusted with the delicate task of negotiating the terms of the treaty? Hence, the very idea that Kuar Man Singh played the role of a mediator in the negotiation for peace is beyond comprehension. Besides, we have already seen that Hussain Quli Khan, a Mughal grandee, played an important part in bringing about

<sup>12</sup> *Surjan Charit*—cantons 16 & 17, Indian Historical Quarterly, Volume 19, 1943, p. 181.

the settlement between the Emperor and the Hara chief.<sup>13</sup> Hence, the credit of negotiating peace treaty goes to Hussain Quli Khan and not to Kuar Man Singh.

The romantic episode as depicted in Tod's Rajasthan appears to be quite imaginary and devoid of any historical truth. Perhaps it is based on hearsay and false traditions and as such, it may be rejected.

But there is no doubt that Kuar Man Singh and Raja Bhagwant Das were present in the Mughal Camp at the time of the conquest of the formidable fortress of Ranthambhor. It is borne out by the fact that in Akbarnama, there is a reference of a servant of Raja Bhagwant Das, named Bipakdas Sakrawal, who advised a Rajput attendant of Surjan's sons not to get suspicious at the admittance of the Hara's princes into the royal presence of the Mughal Emperor. Moreover, the frank admission of the Kachhwaha soldier that he was a friend of both the parties indicates that the role of the Kachhwaha army headed by Raja Bhagwant Das and Kuar Man Singh was in the direction of bringing about a rapprochement between the two contending forces.<sup>14</sup> Besides, Raja Bhagwant Das and Kuar Man Singh were the trusted soldiers of Akbar and the latter must not have forgotten to include them in his entourage when he himself marched to conquer the formidable fortress of Ranthambhor. But this does not mean that the Kuar played the conspicuous part as described by Colonel Tod in the Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan.

On his return journey to Agra, Akbar halted at Amber in 1569 and enjoyed the hospitality of Raja Bhagwant and Kuar Man Singh.<sup>15</sup> A mosque was constructed at Amber known as "Akbari Mosque" on the eve of this imperial visit in order to enable the Emperor and his Muslim nobles to recite their prayers there. The mosque is still extant in Amber and is quite intact. The following inscription is written on the inner gate of the mosque.

۷۸۶

چون بحکم ناقد شانشیا، گردون شکوه اکبر غازی جلال الدین محمد بادشاہ  
شہ بط پیر نماز جمیع از پیر ثواب در گوشہ اصیر از لطف اگه شہ تمام این  
مسجد اندر نبحد و هفتار دهشت — صردم اسلام؛ این مسجد اندر سجد گاہ

*Translation :* "Under the orders of the Emperor, *Gardoon Shikoh* (Great and grand) Akbar Ghazi Jalaluddin Mohammad Badshah and by the grace and blessings of God, the

<sup>13</sup> *Tabaqat-i-Ulbari*, translated by B. Dc. II, p. 355.

<sup>14</sup> *Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, II, p. 494.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.* p. 496.

mosque for Friday prayers was completed in a corner of Amber in the year 977 A. H. (or 1569 A.D.)."<sup>16</sup>

Akbar next proceeded to extend his dominion towards the sea in western India and the first object of his conquest was Gujarat. He marched out of Fatehpur Sikri on 4th July, 1572.<sup>17</sup> He took with him a chosen force which included besides others Raja Bhagwant Das and Kuar Man Singh with their cavalry and trusted guards. While on his way to Gujarat when the imperial army arrived at the town of Disa which was a little south of Abu Road, Akbar came to know that the sons of Sher Khan Fauladi, who held possession of Ahmadabad, were going towards Idar which was only ten miles away from *Khed-Brahma* (near Bijapur in south-west) along with the harem and the troops. Akbar sent Kuar Man Singh with a well-equipped army in pursuit of them.<sup>18</sup> Man Singh pursued them vigorously but they fled away leaving their baggage behind.<sup>19</sup> The Kuar rejoined the camp of Akbar at Pattan (the ancient capital of Gujarat) while the latter was halting there after conquering Ahmadabad on 20th November, 1572,<sup>20</sup> and brought much plunder with him.

Akbar was not satisfied with the conquest of Ahmadabad alone. He wanted to conquer the port of Surat which was the abode and asylum of the rebel Afghans. He was further troubled to learn that Muhammad Hussain Mirza was strengthening the port of Surat. In December, 1572, he despatched in advance of himself Sayyid Muhammad Khan Barha, Shah Quli Khan Muhamram, Raja Bhagwant Das, Kuar Man Singh and others to Surat in order to put down the Mirzas.<sup>21</sup>

In the meantime, on 23rd December, 1572, news came from Broach (near Surat) that Ibrahim Hussain Mirza had murdered Rustum Khan Rumi, a person of distinction, who was coming to pay his respects and homage to the emperor.<sup>22</sup> The Emperor received this intelligence at 9 o'clock at night and he at once made preparations to start.<sup>23</sup> He sent Shahbaz Khan Mir Bakshi, in all haste to recall to his side Raja Bhagwant Singh, Sayyid Muhammad Khan Barha, Kuar Man Singh and the forces which had marched against Surat in advance.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Based on personal observation.

<sup>17</sup> Smith, V. A., *Akbar The Great Mogul*, p. 110.

<sup>18</sup> *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, translated by B. De, II, p. 373.

<sup>19</sup> *Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, III, p. 8.

<sup>20</sup> *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, translated by B. De, II, p. 374.

<sup>21</sup> *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, translated by W. H. Lowe, II, p. 144.

<sup>22</sup> *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, translated by B. De, II, p. 376.

<sup>23</sup> *Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, III, p. 16.

<sup>24</sup> *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, translated by W. H. Lowe, II, p. 146.

<sup>25</sup> *Tarikh-i-Firishta*, translated by Briggs, II, p. 236.

<sup>26</sup> *Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, III, p. 17.

The contingent which accompanied Akbar in this expedition did not exceed 200 since Ferishta puts the number at 156, Abul Fazl at 200 and Tabaqat at 100.<sup>25</sup> Akbar reached the banks of the river Mahindri (Mahi) with a small contingent and when his soldiers came to know that Ibrahim Hussain Mirza had stationed on the other side of the river with a large force, they lost heart.<sup>26</sup> At this critical moment, news came of the approach of the other troops from the side of Surat. The Emperor was angry at their delay and did not wish them to join the fight. But when he was informed that the cause of the delay was that they had gone to a different direction and Shahbaz Khan could not, therefore, locate them in time, the anger of the Emperor was appeased.<sup>27</sup>

At the time of crossing the river Mahindri, Man Singh requested the Emperor to allow him to remain in the van. The Emperor said : "What force have we that we should make a division ? Today we are all one and have set our hearts upon the fight." The Kuar begged saying, "It is the privilege of devotion to go a few steps in front and to show life sacrifice." Akbar was pleased to grant his request and permitted him along with others to go in advance.<sup>28</sup>

As there was much broken ground between the bank of the river Mahindri and the skirts of the fort, Kuar Man Singh and his men who had been sent as the vanguard got into another road and Akbar arrived at the gate which was on the side of the river by another road.<sup>29</sup>

When Akbar came to know that Ibrahim Hussain Mirza had gone out of Sarnal, he immediately issued an order that his army should pursue him. Bhupat Rai, son of Raja Bharamal, rushed on the enemies but he was slain. The Mirzas felt greatly encouraged and strengthened on seeing it and returned to engage the Imperialists in a fierce fighting. It so happened that the imperial troops were standing in a narrow lane, where three horsemen could scarcely stand side by side. On both sides of the lane there were thorny bushes. The Emperor stood in front with great bravery and Raja Bhagwant Das stood bridle to bridle by his side. Three of the enemy's horsemen now charged them and one of them attacked the Raja. As his adversary was entangled among the thorns, Raja

<sup>25</sup> *Tarikh-i-Firishta*, translated by Briggs, II, p. 236.

*Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, III, pp. 18 & 19.

<sup>26</sup> *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, translated by B. De, II, p. 344.

<sup>27</sup> *Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, III, p. 19.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>29</sup> *Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, III, p. 19.

*Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, translated by B. De, II, p. 378.

<sup>25</sup> *Akbarnama*, III, p. 20.

*Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, II, p. 378.

Bhagwant Das hurled his spear at him and severely wounded him so that he withdrew. The other two attacked the Emperor who met them so gallantly that they were obliged to retreat.<sup>30</sup>

While almost all the contemporary sources testify to the presence of Raja Bhagwant Das near Akbar when the latter was facing the three soldiers of the enemy's camp *Umara-i-Hinood* has got a different account to offer. It indicates the presence of Kuar Man Singh on the spot.

*Umara-i-Hinood* observes :

"While Akbar was shooting arrows in Sarnal Raja Bhagwant Das and Kuar Man Singh were standing on either side of the Emperor. Three soldiers of the enemy's camp saw them and one of them turned his attention on Bhagwant Das and two upon the Emperor. One of them threw a spear on the Raja but the latter saved himself and threw his own in return which wounded the soldier resulting in his withdrawal from the contest. Kuar Man Singh dashed at the other two horsemen but Akbar cried out, "Man Singh! stop, do not go, not a step further" and galloped his horse over the cactus fence and came upon the other horsemen. Bhagwant Das reprimanded the Kuar in the following words, 'What! Are you standing my son and doing nothing?' To this Man Singh replied : "What can I do ? *Mahabali* (i.e. the most powerful—as Kuar Man Singh usually called Akbar by this name) gets angry." To this Bhagwant Singh retorted, "This is not the time to care for his anger." Hearing this, Man Singh rushed towards the opponents like a thunderbolt but in the meantime, the two *sowars* fled away on being fiercely charged by the Emperor."<sup>31</sup>

On closer scrutiny, it appears that Kuar Man Singh was not present on the spot where the Emperor was facing the two soldiers of the Mirzas. We have already seen that the Kuar, after taking the permission of Akbar, had joined the vanguard of the

<sup>30</sup> *Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, III, p. 20.

*Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, translated by B. De, II, p. 379.

*Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, translated by W. H. Lowe, II, p. 147.

<sup>31</sup> *Umara-i-Hinood*, p. 14.

invading army. Besides, he crossed the river Mahindri first and then the Emperor. Both of them arrived at different places through different routes which has been attested to by *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*.<sup>22</sup> Thus, Kuar Man Singh was a little away from Akbar when the latter was opposing his enemies. Moreover, if Akbar had been accompanied by Raja Bhagwant Das and Kuar Man Singh in opposing the three soldiers of the Mirzas, what special credit should he deserve for having vanquished his enemies which was quite an easy task?

On 23rd December, 1572, the battle of Sarnal came to an end. Ibrahim Hussain Mirza fled away from the battle-field and was hotly pursued by the Imperialists for some distance. In acknowledgment of his singular services and devoted loyalty shown in the battle of Sarnal, Raja Bhagwant received the distinction of using henceforward a banner and a kettledrum.<sup>23</sup>

While Akbar was resting at Ahmadabad, news came to him that the rebels led by Mirza Muhammad Hussain and Hamzaban had strengthened the fort of Surat in Gujarat and contemplated evil action.<sup>24</sup> Besides, the Emperor was much displeased with them since 'they were openly defying his authority for some time past'.<sup>25</sup> Therefore, on the 31st of December, 1572, he marched with a large army to chastize and suppress the rebels. The enemies were completely routed and the fort of Surat was surrendered on 26th February, 1573.<sup>26</sup>

It appears rather strange that Abul Fazl has not described the role of Kuar Man Singh while narrating the details of the battle of Surat. Nor does any contemporary writer mention the Kuar's name in connection with the battle. The Court historian refers to Raja Bhagwant Das who was deputed along with others for the defence of Fatehpur Sikri from the attacks of Ibrahim Hussain Mirza but he does not speak anything about Kuar Man Singh. Hence, it is not clear whether, the Kuar remained at Surat or accompanied his father to Fatehpur. The confusion is, however, cleared when one comes across the incident of the drinking bout which took place at Surat, as related in Akbarnama. This incident testifies to the presence of Kuar Man Singh at Surat.

Abul Fazl narrates the story in the following words :

"One night there was a select drinking party. Discourse fell upon the bravery of the heroes of Hindustan and it was stated that they paid no regard to their lives. For

<sup>22</sup> *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, translated by B. De, II, p. 978.

<sup>23</sup> *Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, III, p. 24.

<sup>24</sup> *Sawanih-i-Akbari*, (Persian MSS), p. 139(b).

<sup>25</sup> *Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, III, p. 24.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid*, p. 40.

instance, some Rajputs would hold a double-headed spear and two men, who were equally-matched, would run from opposite sides against the points, so the latter would transfix them and come out at their backs. His Majesty fastened the hilt of his special sword to a wall, and placing the point near his sacred breast declared that if the Rajputs were wont to sell their valour in their way, he would rush against this sword. Awe fell upon those who were standing at the feast, and none had the power to utter a word, nor even to offer any opposition. Just then Man Singh ran with the foot of fidelity and gave such a blow with his hand that the sword fell down and made a cut between His Majesty's thumb and his index-finger. Those present removed the sword and His Majesty angrily flung Man Singh on the ground and squeezed him. Saiyid Mozaffar foolishly tried to free him from the grasp of that tiger of God and by twisting his wounded finger released Man Singh. This increased the wound, but by the Divine protection it soon healed."<sup>37</sup>

This incident suggests two points—(i) Man Singh even at the young age of twenty-two<sup>38</sup> had become so close to the Emperor that he was admitted to the select drinking party ; (ii) the Kuar was definitely present in Surat when Akbar had marched to that place for suppressing the Mirzas.

On his return journey from Gujarat, Kuar Man Singh, Shah Quli Khan, Mahram Murat Khan and a number of other nobles were ordered to hasten to Dungarpur (74 miles from Ahmadabad) by way of Idur and from there to come on to the capital. Akbar had clearly instructed the Kuar that the Rana and other zamindars of the neighbourhood were to be treated with princely favours and those who opposed, should be ruthlessly crushed.<sup>39</sup> Kuar Man Singh invaded<sup>40</sup> Dungarpur with a large army and forced its ruler, Aaskarn, to come to fight. The Imperialists were engaged in a fierce battle in which two nephews of Aaskarn—Bagha and Durga<sup>41</sup>—lost their lives.<sup>42</sup> Finding himself helpless in the face of the mighty Mughal forces, Aaskarn lost heart and fled away to hills nearby. The Kuar conquered and looted the territories of Dungarpur and there-

<sup>37</sup> *Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, III, pp. 43 & 44.

<sup>38</sup> Man Singh was born in 1550 A.D. and Surat invasion had taken place in 1572.

<sup>39</sup> *Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, III, p. 48.

<sup>40</sup> This expedition took place near about the last week of April, 1573 because the return journey of Akbar started from 18th April, 1573.

<sup>41</sup> They were the sons of Akheraj, brother of Aaskarn.

<sup>42</sup> The *Prasasti* of *Naulakha* tank of Dungarpur dated V. S. 1643, i.e. 1586 A.D.

after proceeded to Udaipur where he was warmly received but curtly treated.<sup>43</sup>

The Mirzas though humbled were not completely crushed. When they heard that the Emperor had gone back to his capital, they under the leadership of Muhammad Hussain Mirza rose in rebellion. The Emperor again decided to march to Gujarat and actually left for Ahmadabad on 23rd August, 1573.<sup>44</sup> Raja Bhagwant Das, Shujjat Khan and others were placed in charge of the harem which was to accompany the Emperor. But at that time, the Kuar was not in the capital. He was resting and relaxing at his native place in Amber after hard exertions at Gujarat, Surat and Dungarpur in Rajputana. Kuar Man Singh was the trusted lieutenant of Akbar and therefore, the latter, before starting for Gujarat for the second time, issued special orders to two of his generals—Muzaffar Khan at Malwa and Kuar Man Singh at Amber—directing them to march to Gujarat with their respective armies.<sup>45</sup>

After the receipt of the order from the Emperor, the Kuar at once started for Gujarat and met at Ujjain Muzaffar Khan, who was also proceeding to the same place.<sup>46</sup> But in the meantime, Akbar had become victorious over his enemies at Gujarat in which the two rebel leaders named Muhammad Hussain Mirza and Iftiyar-ul-Mulk were slain.<sup>47</sup> The Afghans took to their heels. Since victory had been achieved Akbar now felt that Kuar Man Singh's presence at Gujarat was not needed. He, therefore, sent orders to the Kuar and Muzaffar Khan not to proceed to Gujarat but meet him (the Emperor) at Fatehpur Sikri.<sup>48</sup>

The order for returning to the capital was received by the two generals on the way. On the receipt of it, there were rejoicings at the good news of victory and the armies moved back. The Kuar along with the Kachhwaha forces returned to his fiefs in Amber.<sup>49</sup>

When Akbar started for the Eastern Provinces in order to suppress the rebellion of Daud Khan, he took with him a galaxy of trusted generals of whom Abul Fazl has named nineteen. Among them, the names of Raja Bhagwant Das and Kuar Man Singh occupy the first and the second place.<sup>50</sup> The father and the son played an important part in suppressing the turbulent Afghans and the result

<sup>43</sup> Tod, Colonel, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, I, pp. 336-37.

<sup>44</sup> *Akbarnama*, III, pp. 61 & 62.

<sup>45</sup> *Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, III, p. 93.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 86.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 88.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 93-94.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 123.

was that Daud Khan fled towards Bengal.<sup>51</sup> When the army under Munim Khan Khan-Khanan was despatched to Bengal for pursuing Daud Khan, a band of twenty-one generals accompanied him but neither the names of Raja Bhagwant Das nor that of the Kuar occur in the list.<sup>52</sup> It shows that the Kuar did not go to Bengal but remained with the Emperor in Bihar and returned to the capital (Fatehpur Sikri) along with the Emperor on 18th January, 1575.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>51</sup> *Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, III, p. 141.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 145.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 157.

## CHAPTER IV

### KUAR MAN SINGH AND THE RANAS OF MEWAR

Kuar Man Singh's connection with the Ranas of Mewar dates back to the times of Rana Udai Singh, father of Rana Pratap. As it has already been mentioned, the Kuar had joined the Mughal Imperial Service in 1562 while he was a boy of twelve.<sup>1</sup> He along with his father had shifted his head-quarters from Amber to Agra in the same year.<sup>2</sup> Since then the Kuar always remained with his father, Raja Bhagwant Das, who was an imperial Mansabdar, either at Agra or in the battle-field. This accounts for the fact that Kuar Man Singh, accompanied by his father, followed Akbar to Ranthambhor and Gujarat.<sup>3</sup> Akbarnama bears testimony to the fact that Raja Bhagwant was present in the Mughal Camp when the Emperor had besieged the fort of Chittor in October, 1567.<sup>4</sup> It was Raja Bhagwant Singh, who on seeing the smoke coming out of the fortress after Jaimal<sup>5</sup> was shot dead by Akbar, informed the Emperor that the brave women of Mewar were performing the *Jauhar* ceremony in order to save their chastity and honour.<sup>6</sup> There is no wonder than that along with Raja Bhagwant Das there was Kuar Man Singh also on the battle-field of Chittor and he was watching with keen interest the fight between the Imperialists and the Rajputs of Mewar.

But up till now Kuar Man Singh was in the background with no record of spectacular achievement. So far the Kuar had not been given the sole command of the imperial army to deal with any ruler of importance. He played a subordinate role and, therefore, did not attract the special attention of contemporary Muslim historians. It was in the battle of Haldighat that Kuar Man Singh was first of all entrusted with an important assignment. Thus, this battle may be considered as a turning-point in the career of the Kuar, which at once brought him into prominence. It was in this battle that Man Singh got an opportunity to show his ability and wonderful organizing capacity as a general. The battle of Haldighat was fought between the Mughal army under the command of Kuar Man Singh on one side and the Rajputs of Mewar headed by Rana Pratap on the other.

<sup>1</sup> *Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, II, p. 244.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, III, pp. 494-95.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, II, p. 472.

<sup>5</sup> He was the Governor of the fortress of Chittor.

<sup>6</sup> *Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, II, p. 472.

All the contemporary Muslim historians have called Rana Pratap "Rana Kika" but they have not tried to explain the meaning of the same. Annette Beveridge, the translator of Van Noer's "Akbar", quotes a letter from Kaviraj Shyamaldas, a poet-laureate and renowned historian of Rajputana in later 19th century in which the Kaviraj has written : " 'Kika' is a common name by which children are called in Mewar. Another form of the word is 'Kuka'. It was customary with the princes of the Maharana of Mewar, to be called 'Kika' before ascending the throne. Accordingly, Pratap Singh was called 'Kika' while his father Maharana Udai Singh was alive. Akbar, most probably, used to call him 'Kika' and therefore, the Muhammedan historians called him Rana Kika even after he became the Maharana."<sup>7</sup>

As regards the causes of the battle of Haldighat different writers have advanced different reasons. Abul Fazl observes : "As the disobedience and the presumption of the Rana, as well as his deceit and dissimulation had exceeded all bounds, His Majesty addressed himself to his overthrow."<sup>8</sup> But the Court historian has not elaborated his points by citing any example of the "Rana's deceit and dissimulation."

Colonel Tod in his "Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan" narrates an incident which is based on Rajput traditions and this, according to a few, may be said to be the immediate cause of the battle of Haldighat. Tod has given the following account :

"Raja Maun was returning from the conquest of Sholapoor to Hindusthan when he invited himself to an interview with Pertap, then at Komulmer, who advanced to the Oody-Sagur to receive him on the mound which embanks this lake, a feast was prepared for the Prince of Amber. The board was spread, the Raja summoned, and Prince Umra appointed to wait upon him ; but no Rana appeared, for whose absence apologies alleging headache were urged by his son, with the request that Raja Maun would waive all ceremony, receive his welcome, and commence. The Prince, in a tone at once dignified and respectful, replied : "Tell the Rana I can divine the cause of his headache ; but the error is irremediable, and if he refuses to put a plate (*Khausa*) before me, who will ?" Further subterfuge was useless. The Rana expressed his regret ; but added that

<sup>7</sup> Extract from a letter of Kaviraj Shyamaldas to Annette Beveridge dated Udaipur, 17th of October, 1886. (Von Noer : *Akbar*, translated by Annette Beveridge, p. 244).

<sup>8</sup> *Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, III, p. 296.

(he could not eat with a Rajpoot who gave his sister to a Toork, and who probably ate with him"). Raja Maun was unwise to have risked this disgrace : and if the invitation went from Pertap, the insult was ungenerous as well as impolitic ; but of this he is acquitted. Raja Maun left the feast untouched, *save the few grains of rice he offered to Undeva (the god of food) which he placed in his turban*, observing as he withdrew : "It was for the preservation of your honour that we sacrificed our own, and gave our sisters and daughters to the Toork ; but abide in peril, if such be your resolve, for this country shall not hold you ;" and mounting his horse he turned to the Rana, who appeared at this abrupt termination of his visit, "if I do not humble your pride, my name is not Maun :" to which Pertap replied, "he should always be happy to meet him ;" while some one, in less dignified terms, desired he would not forget to bring his "Phoopa" Akber. The ground was deemed impure where the feast was spread : it was broken up and lustrated with the water of the Ganges, and the chiefs who witnessed the humiliation of one they deemed apostate, bathed and changed their vestments, as if polluted by his presence. Every act was reported to the Emperor, who was exasperated at the insult thus offered to himself . . . . and it hastened the first of those sanguinary battles which have immortalized the name of Pertap."

Nancy has also given a description of the incident that took place at Udaisagar lake and this also bears a close similarity to that given by Colonel Tod.<sup>10</sup>

The "Jaipur Vansawali"<sup>11</sup> and "Kachhwahas Vansawali"<sup>12</sup> have given an account of the elephant episode and have advanced reasons for the battle of Haldighat which bear close resemblance to those

<sup>10</sup> Tod. Colonel : *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, 1, pp. 386-37, (published in 1832).

The above incident has also been quoted in *Raj Prasasti*, Chap. IV, which states :

"प्रतापसिंहो य नृपः कच्छ वाहे मानिन ।

मानमिहेन तस्यासिद्धै मनस्य युजे विधौ ॥ २१ ॥

अकबर प्रभोः पाद्ये मानसिंह स्ततो गतः ॥ २२ ॥

<sup>11</sup> Nancy's *Khyat*, I, p. 65.

<sup>12</sup> It is a rare MS that I found in the State Archives of Jaipur. It is the Persian version of the MS "Vansawali" written originally in Hindi. The original script is stored in British Museum. The Persian translation was done by Munshi Jan Allam in 1785 A. D.

<sup>12</sup> "Kachhwahas Vansawali" is a Rajasthani MS stored in Oriental Research Institute in Jaipur.

given by Colonel Tod and Nancy.<sup>13</sup> The two genealogical histories narrate the following incident :

"Kuar Man Singh while returning from Gujarat expedition halted in the domain of Rana Pratap. The Rana had an elephant named 'Ram Prashad', which had many attributes. It commanded a beautiful and stately appearance and was very dexterous. In battle-fields it put hundreds of elephants to flight by means of heroic exploits, brave encounters and tactful manoeuvrings. Emperor Akbar had been much impressed by its sterling qualities and had asked for that elephant from the Rana but his wish was not fulfilled. The elephant was kept in a special pavilion which was a little way off from Udaipur. The Kuar went to see the renowned elephant. The *Mahabat* of the Kuar's elephant managed to bring "*Ram Prashad*", the Rana's elephant, into the Kuar's camp. But Man Singh sent it back to its stable. When the Rana came to know about the visit of Kuar Man Singh to Udaipur, he went to the latter's camp and invited him to a lunch. The Kuar readily agreed and requested the Rana to include "*Khir*" (a preparation of milk and rice) in the menu. He also informed the Rana that he would take his lunch in company with all his brother generals. When the Kuar went to take his lunch at *Udaisagar lake* (five miles north of Udaipur), he was accompanied by all his men and followed by a pack of three hundred dogs. After the lunch was served the Kuar requested the Rana to give his company which the latter refused on ground of some pain in his stomach. Thereupon, the Kuar withdrew from the place and ordered his men to loosen the dogs so that they might do justice to the delicious dishes

<sup>13</sup> It also finds place in "*Jai Singh Charit*" quoted in *Vir Vinod*, Part II, p. 148. The poem was composed by Kavi Ram :

राजा सो भोजन समय गही भान यह बान ।  
 हन क्यों जैने आपहू जैवत हो किन आन ॥ १ ॥  
 कुंचर आप आरोगिये राजा मात्यो हेरि ।  
 मोहि गरानी कछू अव जैहूँ केरी ॥ २ ॥  
 कही गरानी की कुंचर मई गरानी जोहि ।  
 अटक नहीं कर देहुँगी तूरण दूरण तोहि ॥ ३ ॥  
 दियो ठेल कोसो कुंभर उठे सहित निज साथ ।  
 घुलु भान भरि हौं कब्योपौङ्क सभालन हाथ ॥ ४ ॥

that were served in that lunch. The dogs finished the plates and ate the 'Khir' with relish. Since then this saying gained currency in Rajasthan कुत्ता भेली खीर। (i.e. the dogs spoilt *Khir*). Kuar Man Singh threatened the Rana with grave consequences for this insult and left the place in great disgust."<sup>14</sup>

The story of the meeting of Kuar Man Singh with Rana Pratap at Udaisagar Lake and the non-participation of the Rana in the lunch has been disbelieved by Dr. Raghbir Singh. He has characterized the whole story as an exaggerated account of Colonel Tod and is of opinion that it is based on popular gossips and the local *Khyals* which were written several decades after the incident. He emphatically declares that it cannot be accepted as a historical fact.<sup>15</sup>

It is true that no contemporary Muslim writer has written anything about the incident, but the story has behind it the sanction of a long tradition and finds place in the account of almost all the historians of Rajasthan. Besides, circumstantial evidence also supports the view that such an incident might have taken place. The Kuar visited Udaipur on his way back from Gujarat because he was commanded by the Emperor to do so,<sup>16</sup> and also because courtesy demanded that he should pay his respects to Rana Pratap, who was the doyen of the Rajput rulers of Rajasthan, while passing through his territory. It is also natural that the Maharana should have extended the hospitality to the Kuar which he deserved when the latter had halted in his territory. But the Maharana must have been bitter against Kuar Man Singh on account of his matrimonial alliances with the Mughals and also on account of his being a trusted Imperial Servant. Thus, how could Rana Pratap, the proudest among the proud Rajputs and the arch-enemy of Akbar, see eye to eye with Kuar Man Singh who was the most devoted general of the Mughal Emperor? Hence, there is every possibility that some such incident occurred at the time of interview which might have wounded the vanity of Kuar Man Singh. Besides, the Kuar was a youngman of twenty-three bristling with energy and full of vigour and pride. At this age even the slightest provocation can make a person lose the equilibrium of his mind. In this circumstance the rift between the two was bound to occur. Hence the authenticity of this incident cannot be brushed aside on flimsy grounds.

In order to ascertain the real causes of the battle of Haldighat one has to probe a little deeper into the matter. Akbar was success-

<sup>14</sup> *Jaipuri Vansawali*, (MS) pp. 37-38

<sup>15</sup> *Kachhwahas Vansawali*, (MS), pp. 19-20.

<sup>16</sup> Sinh, Raghbir, 'Purva-Adiunik Rajasthan', p. 51.

<sup>17</sup> *Akbanama*, translated by H. Beveridge, III, p. 57 (footnote).

ful in winning over a large number of Rajput states by his policy of matrimony and friendship, and this unavailing, even by extending threats and coercion. But neither of these policies could bring Rana Pratap to the fold of the Mughal Emperor. The Maharana stood like a stumbling block in the Emperor's scheme of annexing the whole of Rajasthan to his Empire. Akbar was a shrewd observer of human nature and he knew very well that unless Rana Pratap was persuaded or coerced to submission, his policy of fraternizing the Rajputs and making them a bulwark of the growing Mughal Empire was doomed to failure. But the Rana was made of a different stuff. He was prepared to sacrifice his life at the altar of Rajput freedom but was not ready to accept the overlordship of the Mughals. The loss of Chittor was still fresh in his memory and he was not in the least inclined to come to terms with the Imperialists who had deprived him of his dear mother-land. Besides, the Rana was a proud orthodox Rajput-chief who hated the Mughal Emperor very bitterly because the latter not only negotiated friendship with the Rajput rulers of Rajasthan but also polluted their blood by contracting matrimonial alliances with them. Thus a clash between the two was inevitable because they were poles asunder in championing their respective causes. Moreover, the desire to possess the elephant '*Ram Prashad*' was also a contributory cause of the war. And to add to this, the insult of the Kachhwaha prince at Udaisagar lake had further widened the gulf between the two powerful Rajput States of Rajasthan. This might have proved the immediate cause of the war because diplomacy must have demanded of Akbar to do something effective in order to sympathise with the Kuar when all efforts of wooing the Rana failed.

Though Kuar Man Singh reported to the Emperor the whole incident that had taken place on the bank of Udaisagar Lake, even then the Emperor was not moved to action. He still believed in wooing Rana Pratap to submission. With this object in view Akbar sent Raja Bhagwant Das to Udaipur in October, 1573. The Raja met the Rana<sup>17</sup> and tried his level best to persuade him to come to terms with the Mughal Emperor. But the Rana would not budge an inch from his former attitude. Though Abul Fazl states that his visit had been quite successful and that the crown-prince, Kuar Amar Singh, accompanied Raja Bhagwant Das to Agra,<sup>18</sup> the fact was that Bhagwant Das came back utterly disappointed.

The failure of the mission of Raja Bhagwant did not dishearten the Emperor completely. He still believed in peaceful negotiation,

<sup>17</sup> *Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, III, p. 93.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*

for which he deputed Raja Todar Mal, in December, 1573.<sup>19</sup> The efforts of Raja Todar Mal also did not bear any fruit. Rana Pratap remained as firm in his attitude as before.<sup>20</sup>

But the attack did not come all at once. Akbar waited for full two years (i.e. 1574-'76) and gave opportunity to the Rana for cool thinking and mature deliberation. Besides, there were other reasons for the delay in the attack. During this period, Akbar was too much engrossed in crushing the rebellion of the Mirzas in Gujarat (where he himself went twice)<sup>21</sup> and that of Daud Khan of Bengal which he visited in June, 1574. Naturally the Emperor was much pre-occupied with major conflicts and had little time to spare for Udaipur. It was only in 1576 that Akbar was able to turn his attention towards the affairs of Udaipur.

After the missions of Raja Bhagwant Das and Raja Todar Mal had failed, Akbar was convinced that the Rana was not made of an ordinary stuff and that the issue could be settled only by having recourse to war. Thus, Akbar finally decided "either to bend or break the Rana." On April 3, 1576, at Ajmer, where Akbar had gone to do obeisance to the shrine of Khwaja Moinuddin Chisti, the Emperor conferred the lofty title of '*farzand*' (son) on Kuar Man Singh and appointed him chief commander of the imperial army which was deputed against Rana Pratap.<sup>22</sup>

Colonel Tod writes that this expedition against the Rana was led by Prince Salim.<sup>23</sup> But all contemporary sources and Rajput traditions are emphatic that it was Kuar Man Singh and not Prince Salim who headed the expedition against Rana Pratap. Akbarnama does not mention anywhere that Salim took part in the battle of Haldighat but it says unequivocally that it was Kuar Man Singh who led the imperial army. Badaoni, too, an eye-witness to this war, refers to Man Singh as being the leader of the expeditionary force and does not speak anything about Salim. The Jagdish Temple Inscription at Udaipur also speaks of Akbar's army being commanded by Kuar Man Singh.<sup>24</sup> Besides this, Salim was a mere child of seven years, being born on August 30, 1569,<sup>25</sup> at the time of the battle of Haldighat and could not be expected to lead the imperial army against the Rana of Mewar at an age when children are most in-

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>20</sup> *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I, (Persian MS), p. 132.

<sup>21</sup> *Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, III, p. 93.

<sup>22</sup> Akbar visited Gujarat in October, 1572 and August, 1573.

<sup>23</sup> *Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, II, p. 236.

<sup>24</sup> *Muntakhab-ul-Tawarikh*, translated by W. H. Lowe, II, p. 233.

<sup>25</sup> Tod Colonel, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, I, p. 337.

<sup>26</sup> The Inscription is dated May 18, 1652.

<sup>27</sup> *Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, II, p. 344.

rested in mock-fighting than actual field-battle. All these evidences clearly go against the statement of Colonel Tod.

Different writers have given different reasons for Kuar Man being entrusted with the command of the imperial army.

Abul Fazl writes : "Kuar Man Singh who was among the first in the Court for wisdom, loyalty and bravery . . . was nominated for this service."<sup>26</sup> *Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangiri* says : "The ancestors of Man Singh had been the liegemen of the Ranas of Mewar and by sending the Kuar Akbar assured himself that the Rana would give battle rather than evade the imperial troops."<sup>27</sup> *Sawanikh-i-Akbari* holds the view that Man Singh was entrusted with the command because he was the only man who could have infused courage and hope into the hearts of the soldiers of the imperial army who might have left the battle-field out of fear for the Rana.<sup>28</sup> *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* observes in this connection : "When the victorious army was encamped at Ajmer, Kuar Man Singh, who was distinguished with the attributes of courage and manliness and the qualities of high spirits and wisdom, was sent at the head of 5000 bold horsemen to attack".<sup>29</sup>

The *Vansawali* in the State Archives of Jaipur points out that after the Kuar returned insulted from Udaipur, he went to Akbar and said : "If I am entrusted with the charge of leading an expedition against Maharana's territories, I shall be glad to accept it." The Emperor remarked, "The elephant episode must have also excited your fury."<sup>30</sup>

Rai Bahadur Pandit Gouri Shankar Hirachand Ojha submits that since Akbar took the insult of his commander-in-chief at the hands of the Rana as highly derogatory to his prestige he sent the Mughal army under the Kuar's command so that he (i.e. Man Singh) might wreak vengeance upon the Rana.<sup>31</sup>

Von Noer's views regarding the appointment of Kuar Man Singh as Mughal commander-in-chief are rather interesting. He observes :

"Akbar showed a clearer apprehension of the situation by the sound use he made of the means at his command employing Rajput against Rajput in the field as in the Council Chamber. Guided by his intimate knowledge of the very essence of the Hindu genius so cognate with his own, he knew that as diplomatic relations develop sooner

<sup>26</sup> *Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, II, p. 236.

<sup>27</sup> *Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangiri*, (Persian MS), p. 803.

<sup>28</sup> *Sawanikh-i-Akbari*, (Persian MS), p. 178.

<sup>29</sup> *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, translated by B. De, II, p. 484.

<sup>30</sup> Ojha, G. S., *History of Rajputana* (History of Pratapgarh), Vol. III, Part III, p. 105.

<sup>31</sup> *Vansawali* in the State Archives of Jaipur, pp. 88-89.

and more readily between men of the same race and faith, so also brother is most bitter against brother on the field of battle. For these reasons, on return from the first Gujarat campaigns he had sent Man Singh, the heir of Amber into Mewar's Rana's territory."<sup>32</sup>

The fact cannot be denied that one of the main reasons for the appointment of Kuar Man Singh as the chief commander of the Mughal army, sent against the Rana of Mewar, was his personal qualities—wisdom, courage, resourcefulness, able generalship and wonderful organizing capacity. Besides, Man Singh was the beloved Kuar of the Kachhwaha forces which were famous for their gallantry and bravery and Akbar knew it very well that the Kachhwaha army would strive its utmost to see their Kuar victorious even against Maharana Pratap who was the most respected ruler of Rajputana. The Mughal Emperor was also aware of the fact that the imperial army was going to face a personality, far different from all others whom it had met so far, in the person of Rana Pratap who was then the hero and pride of the Rajput community of India. Akbar rightly thought that if a Muslim was put in charge of the invading army the Rajput soldiers might shirk or evade the responsibility of defeating the Rana of Mewar and, therefore, the Kuar was appointed to "wield the sword of Islam."<sup>33</sup> Further, by appointing the Kachhwaha prince as the leader of the imperialist army Akbar wanted to tease the Sisodia chief who was regarded as the flower of Rajput chivalry. Moreover, the Kuar was appointed because Akbar was very keen to show, thereby, to the Kachhwaha Rajputs what confidence he reposed in them.

Akbar was, however, shrewd enough not to trust Kuar Man Singh completely. In his heart of hearts he was well aware of the softness of feeling which the Rajputs entertained for the doyen of their community. This accounts for the fact that a band of reputed Mughal generals were associated with Kuar Man Singh, e.g. Asaf Khan Mirbakshi, Ghazi Khan Badakshi, Shah Ghazi Khan Tabrazi, Muzahid Khan, Sayyid Ahmad Khan, Sayyid Hashim Barha, Mihtar Khan,<sup>34</sup> Khwaja Muhammad Rafi Badakshi, Mujahid Khan, Mahibile Ali Khan and other enterprising warriors.<sup>35</sup>

The appointment of Kuar Man Singh as the chief commander of the Mughal army was not liked by a few Muslim nobles of Akbar's Court. When Badaoni sought the co-operation of Naqib Khan to

<sup>32</sup> Noer, Von, *Akbar*, II, pp. 244-45.

<sup>33</sup> *Muntakhab-ul-Tawarikh*, translated by W. H. Lowe, II, pp. 238-39.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 233.

<sup>35</sup> *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, translated by B. De, II, p. 484.

help him in securing the permission of the Emperor to join the invading army the latter remarked : "If a Hindu had not been the leader of this army, I should myself have been the first to have asked permission to join it."<sup>36</sup>

The imperial army, led by Kuar Man Singh, marched from Ajmer towards Gogunda on April 3, 1576<sup>37</sup> and halted at Mandalgarh (75 miles south of Ajmer and 25 miles north of Chittor). The Kuar lay encamping at Mandalgarh for about two months in order that all the Mughal generals might join him there.<sup>38</sup> Mutamid Khan tells us that Rana Pratap had become so impatient to fight with the Imperialists that he wanted to attack them at Mandalgarh but he was dissuaded from this line of action by his *sardars* and generals.<sup>39</sup> There the *Sardars* were correct in their approach. Mandalgarh lay on the direct route from Ajmer and, therefore, heavy re-inforcement could be sent to the Mughals from Ajmer at any moment which could have further strengthened the Mughal army. However, the preparations were complete and the imperial army was fully organized. After halting for two months at Mandalgarh, Kuar Man Singh marched towards Gogunda in early June, 1576.<sup>40</sup> Gogunda was very close to Haldighat and was about 16 miles north-west of Udaipur.<sup>41</sup> After Chittor was conquered by Akbar in October, 1567 Rana Pratap had founded the city of Gogunda which consisted of 'mansions and gardens'.<sup>42</sup> "After having every day on the march and each night a new halting place"<sup>43</sup> the imperial army ultimately reached Mojera,<sup>44</sup> a few miles to the north-west of Gogunda. The Haldighat was so called because of the yellow colour of its soil.<sup>45</sup> Haldighat was at the base of the neck of mountain which shut up the valley and rendered it almost inaccessible.<sup>46</sup>

In the meantime, Rana Pratap was also making his preparations. By April, 1576 he was able to collect sufficient force to offer a strong resistance to the Mughal army.<sup>47</sup> The Rana along with his army moved to Khamnaur, a village situated at the entrance to the Pass of Haldighat.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>36</sup> *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, translated by W. H. Lowe, II, p. 233.

<sup>37</sup> *Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, III, p. 237.

<sup>38</sup> Khan, Mutamid, *Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangiri*, II, p. 382 (a).

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>41</sup> *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, translated by B. De, II, p. 487.

<sup>42</sup> Smith, V. A., *Akbar The Great Mugal*, p. 152.

<sup>43</sup> *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, translated by W. H. Lowe, II, p. 233.

<sup>44</sup> According to Nancy, it is Molela which is situated on the bank of the river Banas.

<sup>45</sup> Noer Von, *Akbar*, p. 247.

<sup>46</sup> Smith, V. A., *Akbar The Great Mugal*, p. 152.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>48</sup> *Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangiri*, (MS), p. 382 (b).

The Rana's movements were so secret that Kuar Man Singh had no idea that the enemy's troops were so near. This ignorance would have one evening cost the Kuar's life but for the good sense that prevailed on the Rana. Nancy tells us that one evening while the Rana was staying at Lohsing<sup>51</sup> (18 miles north of Udaipur), the spies brought him the news that Kuar Man Singh was busy hunting with a contingent of one thousand soldiers only. It was suggested that the Kuar should be attacked in the night and done to death. But this idea was given up on the strong opposition of Bida Jhala, an old chief of Rana's camp, who did not favour this cowardly action.<sup>52</sup>

There is a difference of opinion regarding the relative strength of the contending forces. According to Kaviraj Shyamaldas the Rana had 20,000 cavalry and some infantry and Kuar Man Singh had 80,000 soldiers with him.<sup>53</sup> Nancy declares that Man Singh had 40,000 troops whereas Rana had 10,000 *sowars*.<sup>54</sup> Badaoni puts down the number to 5,000 for the Kuar and 3,000 for the Rana besides a large number of Bhils who joined the Rana's camp with bows and arrows.<sup>55</sup> Tod observes that Rana Pratap had with him a force of 22,000 Rajputs to withstand the son of Akbar.<sup>56</sup> After taking into consideration the statement of the aforesaid writers, it appears that Badaoni, who was an eye-witness to the war, was correct in his estimate about the relative strength of the rival forces and that the number must not have been more than 5,000 on the side of the Imperialists and 3,000 on the side of the Rana.

Both Man Singh and Rana Pratap prepared themselves for the actual combat. They arranged their forces according to the then prevailing order of fighting, viz., the Van, the Centre and the Rear. The Kuar was very particular on the point that his army be organized in such a way that it should remain mobile and effective, for he knew that mobility of the army is a pre-requisite to victory. *Maasir-i-Rahimi* tells us that the Raja set his army in battle array in consultation with other Mughal generals.<sup>57</sup>

The van of the imperial army was led by Raja Jagannath, Khwaja Ghasuddin Ali and Asaf Khan. A chosen party of eighty was sent with Sayyid Hashim Barha as skirmishers in front of the advance body and they were called "*chickens of the front line*". The left was guarded by Ghazi Khan Badakshi and Rai Lonkarn with a num-

<sup>51</sup> Nancy's *Khyat*, pp. 68-69, Vol. I.  
<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>53</sup> *Vir Vinod*, II, p. 153.

<sup>54</sup> Nancy's *Khyat*, I, pp. 68 and 69.

<sup>55</sup> *Muntakhab-ul-Tawarikh*, translated by W. H. Lowe, II, p. 223.

<sup>56</sup> Tod, Colonel, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, I, p. 337. (Published in London, 1832).

<sup>57</sup> *Maasir-i-Rahimi*, (Persian MS), p. 845.

ber of Shaikhzadas from Sikri. Sayyid Ahmad Khan Barha with a number of other Sayyids controlled the right wing. In the centre stood Raja Man Singh on an elephant and was assisted by Khwaja Muhammad Rafi Badakshi, Shihabuddin Guroh, Payandah Quzaq and Ali Murad Uzbek. Mihtar Khan commanded the rear.<sup>56</sup>

The Rana had also arranged his forces in an equally effective manner. The van was commanded by Hakim Sur Pathan who was assisted by Chandavat Krishna Das and Ram Das, son of Jaimal. Raja Ram Shah of Gwalior led the right and Jhalla Man Singh commanded the left. Rana Pratap was in the centre supported by Rana Panja, Purohit Gopinath, Mchta Ratan Chand and Jagannath.<sup>57</sup>

On the 18th of June, 1576 the two armies met in the village of Khamnaur which was at the mouth of Haldighat—a dependency of Gogunda.<sup>58</sup> Abul Fazl describes the outbreak of the war in the following verse :

قیامت ز کیتی بر انگیختند  
چو لشکر بلشکر در امیختند  
بے چندش در آمد در دریا لے خون شد از موج آتش زمین ناله گون<sup>59</sup>

*Translation :* "When army commingled with army

They stirred up the resurrection-day upon earth ;  
Two oceans of blood shocked together

The soil became tulip-coloured from the burning waves":

In the beginning of the war, the Mewar Rajputs at once took the offensive. The van of the Rana led by Hakim Sur Pathan attacked the advance body of the Imperialists. On account of the broken and uneven state of the ground and quantity of thorns and the serpentine twisting of the road, the skirmishers and the van of the Mughals became hopelessly mixed up together and the imperialists sustained a complete defeat. Raja Jagannath was about to lose his life in the combat but in the meantime the *altamash* (vanguard) arrived and Man Singh in person joined the war which relieved the pressure on the vanguards of the Imperialists.<sup>60</sup>

The right wing of the Rana drove off the left wing of the Imperialists which consisted mainly of the Rajputs led by Raja Lun

<sup>56</sup> *Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, III, p. 244.

*Muntakhab-ul-Tawarikh*, translated by W. H. Lowe, II, p. 231.

*Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangiri*, (MS), p. 382.

<sup>57</sup> *Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, III, p. 244.

*Amar Kavya* (Sanskrit MS), p. 83 (b).

*Muntakhab-ul-Tawarikh*, translated by W. H. Lowe, p. 231.

<sup>58</sup> *Akbarnama*, III, p. 244.

<sup>59</sup> *Akbarnama*, (Persian MS), II, p. 85.

<sup>60</sup> *Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, III, p. 245.

*Muntakhab-ul-Tawarikh*, translated by W. H. Lowe, pp. 237-38.

*Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangiri*, (MS), II, p. 382.

Karn. While these Rajput soldiers were running away, they were mixed up with the Mewar Rajputs and it became very difficult to distinguish between the Mewar Rajputs and the Kachhwaha Rajputs. At this juncture, Badaoni, who was with some of the special troops of the advance body, asked Asaf Khan : "How are we in these circumstances to distinguish between friendly and hostile Rajputs?" Asaf Khan's reply was rather interesting. He said : "They will experience the whiz of the arrows, be what may, on whichever side they may be killed, it will be a gain to Islam."<sup>61</sup> There ensued an utter confusion in the rank and file of the Imperialists.

In the meantime, the other division of Gogunda's army under Rana in person came out of the pass, charged the enemy and bearing them along broke through their centre. Then the Shaikh's sons from Sikri fled from the battle-field. Those of the army who had fled on the first attack did not halt till they had passed five or six *kosses* beyond the river.<sup>62</sup> Perhaps this initial success of the Rajputs prompted the scribe of Jagdish temple at Udaipur to write the following in verse :

“दृढ़ता करे खंगलता स्ववल्लमाँ  
प्रतापसिंह समुपागते प्रगे ।  
सा खंडिता मानवती क्षिवक्ष्यच्चभु :  
संकोचयन्ती धरणै पराइसुखी ॥”<sup>63</sup>

*Translation* : "With his beloved dagger in his hands Pratap jumped into the fray that morning. The enemy's army led by Man Singh was shattered and fled away."

Sri Ram Sharma in his book entitled '*Maharana Pratap*', on the basis of some Rajput sources, has drawn a picture of the combat between Rana Pratap and Kuar Man Singh. He writes :

".....There was one thing that the Rana had so much at heart—an engagement with Man Singh. At last with slashing sword, perfectly managed, he cut his way to the very heart of the affray. Here stood Man Singh, riding an elephant as befitted an imperial commander. The Rana was at last on his prey and balancing his spear spurred his faithful steed. Thus urged *chitak* jumped on to the head of the elephant and Pratap delivered his blow full. Man Singh had time enough to dive into his *howdah* and thus

<sup>61</sup> *Muntakhab-ul-Tawarikh*, translated by W. H. Lowe, II, pp. 237-38.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>63</sup> Inscription of Jagdish Temple at Udaipur, dated May, 1562, Verse Nos. 41 and 42.

parry the blow. The spear struck the steel of the *howdah*. Man Singh was saved but his *Mahabat* fell down dead.<sup>64</sup>

It is very strange that Badaoni who was an eye-witness to this war failed to notice such an important combat. He does mention that the Rana came into personal combat with Madhava Singh (younger brother of Kuar Man Singh) and remarks that "showers of arrows were poured on the Rana,"<sup>65</sup> but does not refer to the fight between Man Singh and the Rana. But Abul Fazl has referred to this combat in his "*Akbarnama*" in which he observes : "During these blazing sparks of commotion and contest, and the heat of the fires of fortune, Kuar Man Singh and the Rana approached one another ; and did valiant deeds."<sup>66</sup> The Court historian does not say anything about the outcome of this fight but merely states that "they did valiant deeds." Hence no conclusion can be drawn on basis of the Hindu sources which Sri Sarma has cited, as these are unilateral and may be partial.

The elephants of both sides fought valiantly and performed heroic deeds. Husain Khan, leader of the elephants of the Mughal side, was riding on an elephant behind Kuar Man Singh. He also joined the fight. Man Singh springing into the place of the elephant's driver exhibited such an intrepidity as surpasses all imagination.<sup>67</sup> The elephant *Lona* of the Rajput side was faced by *Gajmukta* of the Mughals under Jamal Khan Fauzdar. The combat of the mountain-like elephants threw the soldiers into terror. When the imperial elephant was wounded and was about to leave the battle-field, a bullet struck the driver of *Lona* with the result that the elephant of the Rajput side turned back.<sup>68</sup> At this moment, Pratap Singh Tanwar, son of Raja Ram Shah of Gwalior, a relative of the Maharana, moved forward on the back of *Ram Prashad*—the prince amongst the Rajput elephants. This valiant elephant killed several soldiers of the Mughal side and became a terror for the Imperialists. It was faced by *Gajraj*<sup>69</sup> led by Kamal Khan and *Ran Mandar* led by Panju. *Ram Prashad* attacked *Ran Mandar* so fiercely that the latter was on the point of leaving the battle-field but unfortunately the *Mahabat* of *Ram Prashad* was killed by an arrow. Taking advantage of it, the driver of the imperial elephant *Gajmukta* lost no time in jumping on the back of *Ram Prashad* and bringing it under his own control.

<sup>64</sup> Sarma, Sri Ram, *Maharana Pratap*, pp. 74-75.

<sup>65</sup> *Muntakhab-ul-Tawarikh*, translated by W. H. Lowe, II, p. 239.

<sup>66</sup> *Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, III, p. 246.

<sup>67</sup> *Muntakhab-ul-Tawarikh*, translated by W. H. Lowe, II, p. 238.

<sup>68</sup> *Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, III, pp. 245-46.

<sup>69</sup> *Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangiri*, (MS), p. 382(b).

<sup>70</sup> *Iqbalnamah* says that it was 'Kazraj', p. 383(b).

Thus, *Ram Prashad* which was an object of admiration in the Mughal Court and on whom Emperor Akbar had long set his heart was captured and became a booty of the war.<sup>70</sup>

Though in the fight amongst the elephants the Imperialists could obtain possession of *Ram Prashad*, in the combat amongst the rival forces, the Rajputs on the side of the Rana were getting the upper hand.<sup>71</sup> The van, the centre and other divisions of the Mughal forces were hopelessly broken and confusion reigned supreme on their side. Most of the soldiers had left the battle-field and had taken shelter several miles away from the scene of the battle.<sup>72</sup> But just when the prospect of victory on the side of the Rajputs seemed to be brightest the battle took a new turn.

Mihtar Khan, who commanded the rear, was watching the turn of events most anxiously. He was much surprised at the initial success of the Rajputs and sought the permission of his chief-commander, Kuar Man Singh, for marching towards the active front of the war. The Kuar was a little upset on account of the success of his enemies and gladly accorded permission to Mihtar Khan to march forward. Mihtar Khan, beating his kettle drums, called on the imperial troops to rally around in order to face the enemies. Badaoni writes : "And this shout of his was to a great extent the cause of the fugitives taking heart again and making a stand."<sup>73</sup> The Mughal and the Rajput soldiers of Kuar Man, who had run away from the battle-field, were much encouraged to see that the re-inforcement had arrived and they stood firmly on the battle-ground and opposed their enemies with added strength. The Rajput army of the Rana was taken aback to see the arrival of reinforcement led by Mihtar Khan and they concluded that the number of soldiers headed by Mihtar Khan was very large. Besides this, the Rajput army of Rana Pratap were greatly tired on account of the incessant warfare from the early morning and also the extreme heat of mid-June Sun was sapping their energy and strength. Nevertheless they were on the point of winning the war so that at this crucial moment the coming of reinforcement on the side of the Imperialists completely bewildered them in that they were too tired to meet this fresh onslaught. And the tide really turned against the Rajput army. The outcome of the war has been aptly described by Abul Fazl, who says : "A cry went up from the combatants and the enemy who were continually more and more predo-

<sup>70</sup> *Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, III, p. 246.  
*Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangiri*, (MS), p. 383.

<sup>71</sup> *Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangiri*, p. 383.

<sup>72</sup> *Muntakhab-ul-Tawarikh*, translated by W. H. Lowe, pp. 237-38.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*

*Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangiri*, II, p. 383.

minent lost heart. The breeze of victory began to blow upon the rose-bush of the hopes of the devoted.....<sup>71</sup>

Thus, the battle of Haldighat ended in the victory of the Imperialists. The Rana left the battle-field in sheer disgust. The *Tabaqat* also confirms this in the following words : "Rana Kika fought so hard that day that he received arrow and spear wounds and turning from the battle-field carried his life out of that danger in great wretchedness."<sup>72</sup>

A careful perusal of Badaoni's account of the war brings forth the following salient features :

- (1) The bravery of the Sayyids of Barha but for whose gallant stand the whole affair would have been a disgraceful defeat ;
- (2) The sacrifice of Raja Ram Shah of Gwalior who laid down his life as well as those of his children at the altar of Rajput freedom ;
- (3) Finally, the wise generalship of Kuar Man Singh and the valiant deeds of his body-guard all of which bore out the remark of Mulla Shiri, viz., "A Hindu wields the sword of Islam."<sup>73</sup>

The battle of Haldighat was indeed a very fierce battle in which hundreds of men were killed and wounded.<sup>74</sup> The fierceness can best be visualized from the following Persian couplets quoted in *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* :

زمدن د یا موج انگن شد از خون در د کشتی سوار د کشتہ لنگر  
ا جل باز د زنان هر سود و اندشه بخون اندر چو مردان شد ادر<sup>75</sup>

*Translation* : "The land with blood was like a tumultuous sea : In it the horsemen were boats, the slain like anchors fixed :

Death, roaring around, rushed in directions ;  
The men swam about, as it were all in the blood : "

With regard to the casualties on both sides, Badaoni gives a confusing account. He states : "Nearly five hundred men were slain and fell on the field of battle of which number 150 were of the people of Islam and the rest Hindus."<sup>76</sup> On the basis of this statement, it is

<sup>71</sup> *Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, III, pp. 246-47.

<sup>72</sup> *Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangiri*, II, p. 383.

<sup>73</sup> *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, translated by B. Dc, II, p. 489.

<sup>74</sup> *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, translated by W. H. Lowe, II, pp. 238-39.

<sup>75</sup> *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, translated by B. Dc, II, p. 488.

*Maasir-i-Rahimi*, I, p. 345.

<sup>76</sup> *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, (MS), II, p. 298(b).

<sup>77</sup> *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, translated by W. H. Lowe, II, p. 239.

difficult to calculate the exact number of the killed on both sides, since Hindus were fighting on either side. Abul Fazl is more helpful in this respect when he tells us that "150 Ghazis died on the field and of the enemy more than 500 distinguished men were stained with the dust of annihilation."<sup>50</sup> This figure stands further corroborated by Nizamuddin who adds that on Rana's side Raja Ram Shah of Gwalior along with his three sons—Salibhama, Bhanu Sinha and Pratap Sinha and also Ram Das (son of Jai Mal of Chittor fame) were killed.<sup>51</sup> Jaimal had been killed by Raja Jagannath.<sup>52</sup>

With regard to the number of persons wounded in this battle, Badaoni observes : "The number of Champions of Islam who were wounded exceeded 300."<sup>53</sup> He means to say that more than 300 of the Imperialists were wounded but he does not give any indication as to the number of persons wounded on the side of the Rana ; *Iqbal-namah* also quotes the number of persons killed, which is as follows : '50 persons of the Imperialists and 500 of the Rana's side were killed', but he does not mention the number of the wounded in this battle. The number of persons wounded on both sides must have been considerable when we take into consideration the fierceness of the battle of Haldighat.

After the victory, the Imperialists did not pursue their enemies. Badaoni and Abul Fazl have assigned the following reasons for this. Badaoni states : "And when the air was like a furnace and no power of movement was left in the soldiers the idea became prevalent that the Rana by stealth and stratagem, would keep himself concealed behind the mountains. This was the reason why they made no pursuit but returned to their tents."<sup>54</sup> Abul Fazl observes : "On account of the excessive heat and fatigue of the battle the Imperialists did not set their hearts on pursuing the enemy. . ."<sup>55</sup> That is also what *Iqbalnamah* says.<sup>56</sup> But the real reason for not pursuing the vanquished army was something else. The Kuar's chief aim was to humble the Rana by inflicting a crushing defeat on him, but he never wished to harass or torture him since the Rana still occupied a position of respect not only in his own eyes but also in the eyes of Kachhwaha Rajputs. This accounts for the fact that immediately after the cessation of the war the Kuar forbade the Mughal army to pursue the Rana's soldiers which might embarrass them. Several sources corroborate this statement about the Kuar's

<sup>50</sup> *Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, III, p. 24.

<sup>51</sup> *Tabaqat-i-akbari*, translated by B. De, II, p. 238.

<sup>52</sup> *Iqbalmah-i-Jahangiri*, II, p. 383.

<sup>53</sup> *Mura'akhib ut-Tawarikh*, translated by W. H. Lowe, II, p. 238.

<sup>54</sup> *Ib'd*, p. 239.

<sup>55</sup> *Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, III, p. 247.

<sup>56</sup> *Iqbalmah-i-Jahangiri*, II, p. 383.

consideration for the Rana. Lakshmi Narain says : "The Kuar forbade the soldiers to loot the Rana's territories."<sup>87</sup> Khwaja Nizamuddin in his *Tabaqat* states : "Kuar Man Singh had also prohibited his men from plundering and devastating Kika's territories."<sup>88</sup> It goes to the credit of Kuar Man Singh that he issued such an order at a time when his soldiers were starving on account of scarcity of food materials. Khwaja Nizamuddin tells us that owing to the narrowness and the difficulties of the roads very little grains could reach the Imperialists with the result that there was great scarcity of grains amongst the troops.<sup>89</sup> He further observes that the order of the Kuar brought great privation amongst the Mughal soldiers.<sup>90</sup> The Kuar had also to incur the displeasure of the Emperor for not looting the Rana's territories, as Badaoni records that Man Singh and Asaf Khan were not allowed to pay their respects to the Emperor for some time.<sup>91</sup> Kuar Man Singh bore the displeasure of the Emperor patiently but never repented of what he had done.

Tod and some Rajput chroniclers have stated an interesting story about the flight of Rana Pratap, his pursuit by two Khorasani and Multani soldiers, the dramatic meeting of the Rana with his younger brother, Sakat Singh, and the death of *Chitak*, the gallant steed of the Rana.<sup>92</sup> But a close scrutiny of all the relevant details leads to the conclusion that the story is not based on historical facts. There is the statement of Badaoni and Abul Fazl just referred to above, that at the close of the battle, the imperial army was too tired to move about, and there was also a rumour current that the Rana was hiding in the hills nearby and, hence, nobody dared to follow the Rana.<sup>93</sup> Besides, the Rana was not left alone. He must have left the battle-field followed by his remaining soldiers whose number was considerable. Further, no contemporary Muslim historian has referred to this important fact of Sakat Singh, brother of Rana Pratap, accompanying the Mughal army or taking any part in the battle of Haldighat. In these circumstances Tod's contention can safely be rejected. Dr. Raghbir Singh has also characterized the whole story as melodramatic and based on hearsay.<sup>94</sup>

<sup>87</sup> Narayan, Lakshmi, *Haqiqat-i-Hindustan*, (Persian MS), p. 232(b).

<sup>88</sup> *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, translated by B. De, II, p. 498.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>91</sup> *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, translated by W. H. Lowe, II, p. 247.

<sup>92</sup> Tod Colonel : *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, I, p. 339.

*Raj Parshasti*, Chap. IV, Verses, 26 to 30.

*Vir Vinod*, II, p. 139.

*Vans Vaskar*, II, p. 2359.

<sup>93</sup> *Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, III, p. 247.

*Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, translated by W. H. Lowe, p. 239.

<sup>94</sup> Singh, Raghbir, *Purva-Adhunik Rajasthan*, p. 57.

In order to know the activities of Kuar Man Singh subsequent to the battle of Haldighat one has to turn to the pages of *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh* and see what Badaoni has to say about it. Badaoni states :

"The next day the army marched thence and having looked over the battle-field to see how each has behaved, leaving *Dorah* came to Kokandah. . . . The Amirs as security against a night attack on the part of the Rana, barricaded the streets and drew a trench and a wall of such a height that horsemen could not leap over it round the city of Kokandah and then settled down quietly. And they had a list drawn up containing the names of all the slain and the horses killed in the action intending to close it with the despatch to the Emperor. Sayyid Ahmad Khan Barha said : 'There has been no person or horse of ours killed whose name you will have to report to the Imperial Government so what is the good of writing them down ? It is more important at the present moment to look after the commissariat.' Since there was in that mountain district—but little arable land, scanty amount of corn was produced and moreover the *Banjars* (merchants who carry merchandise) did not come so that the army at that time was suffering from great scarcity. They set their wits to work to tackle the difficulty. Accordingly from time to time, they singled out one of the Amirs in command and commissioned him to bring corns into the lines and wherever in the high hills and mountains they found people congregated together they broke them up and took them prisoners. And one had to sustain life upon the flesh of animals and the mango-fruits. This latter grew there in such abundance as defies description. The common soldiers used to make a meal of it, fasting in default of bread and from its extreme juiciness very many of them became ill. . . . ."

"The Amirs wished to send to the Emperor the elephant named Ram Prashad which had come into their hands with the spoil (and which His Imperial Highness had several times demanded of the Rana and he had declined to 'surrender) and together with it the report of the victory to the court. Asaf Khan mentioned the name of the author (Badaoni) as a proper person to be sent with it since he had been allowed to join the army though he being a particular favourite of His Majesty. Man Singh answered (jocosely). 'There is a great deal of his work still left undone. He ought to come in front of the line and everywhere take the

lead in the battle'. I answered 'my imamship here is finished, my business now is to go and act as Imam before the ranks of His Imperial Majesty'. He (Man Singh) was pleased and smiled and sent me with the elephant and appointed 300 horsemen to accompany me by way of precaution. And he (Man Singh) himself taking advantage of the opportunity to enjoy in hunting and to leave detached guards in different places, came with me by very easy marches as far as the town of Mohani, which is 20 Kosses from Kokandah. There he furnished me with letters of commendation and dismissed me to go to the court."<sup>95</sup>

Further continues Badaoni : "And at this time when news arrived of the distressed state of the army at Kokandah, the Emperor sent for Man Singh, Asaf Khan and Qazi Khan, to come alone from that and on account of certain faults, which they had committed, he excluded Man Singh and Asaf Khan for some time from the court. While on the contrary, Ghazi Khan Badakshi, Mihtar Khan, Ali Murad Uzbek and one or two others were honoured with presents and promotion in rank. But all the rest, though they fell from the position of confidence, were dismissed without punishment."<sup>96</sup>

Here the question arises : What were the faults of Man Singh or Asaf Khan which made them so unpopular in the eyes of the Emperor ? Kuar Man Singh had won a glorious victory in the battle of Haldighat for which the Emperor should have been pleased with the Kuar instead of being offended. The chief cause of the displeasure of the Emperor was that the Kuar had failed to pursue or capture the Rana or devastate his territories. The Rana was an arch-enemy of the Emperor and the latter would have been mightily pleased, had the Kuar harassed him or captured him.

However, the displeasure of the Emperor was short-lived and the Kuar was soon admitted into favour. This is clear from the following lines of Abul Fazl : "Tricksters and time-servers suggested to the royal ear that there had been slackness in extirpating the wretch, and the officers were nearly incurring the king's displeasure. But by the might and profundity of examination, which are the glorious characteristics of the world's lord, the veil was removed from the painted countenance of those evil-inclined word-spinners."<sup>97</sup> This is further confirmed by Nizamuddin in his *Tabaqat* when he says : "After some days, the pen of forgiveness was drawn across his offences and it was

<sup>95</sup> *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, translated by W. H. Lowe, II, pp. 239-43.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 247.

<sup>97</sup> *Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, III, pp. 259-60.

decided that a second army should be sent to devastate Kika's territories.<sup>100</sup> According to Abul Fazl, Man Singh came to pay his homage in the latter part of September, 1576.<sup>101</sup>

Soon after Emperor Akbar himself marched to Gogunda against the Rana.<sup>102</sup> He took along with him a number of officers including Raja Bhagwant Das and Kuar Man Singh. On the approach of the Emperor the Rana fled to the hills. Akbar sent Qutbuddin Khan, Raja Bhagwant Das and Kuar Man Singh to find out the whereabouts of the Rana.<sup>103</sup> But these imperial officers could not locate the Rana who remained untraced.

Rana Pratap remained hidden in the hills and ravaged the Mughal territories whenever he found a favourable opportunity. Therefore in January, 1577, Raja Bhagwant Das, Kuar Man Singh, Muhammad Khan, the son of Bairam Khan and a number of experienced men were sent to Gogunda but they failed to do anything effective.<sup>104</sup>

Akbar was now convinced that Rana Pratap would never be captured with the help of Kachhwaha forces. Ultimately he decided to send an army under Shahbaz Khan to Gogunda. Many imperial Officers like Payinda Khan Mogul, Sayyid Qasim, Sayyid Raju and also Raja Bhagwant Das and Kuar Man Singh were placed under his command.<sup>105</sup> Even Shahbaz Khan had no trust in Bhagwant Das or Man Singh. Abul Fazl states that while the Mughal army was proceeding to capture Kumbhalgarh, a fort situated on a hill 3500 ft. high and which had become the abode of the Rana, Shahbaz Khan directed the two Kachhwaha princes to go back to the imperial Court and not to join the expedition since he feared "lest from their feelings as land holders there might be delay in inflicting retribution on that 'vain disturber' (Rana Pratap)".<sup>106</sup>

Thus Bhagwant Das and Kuar Man Singh were not taken into confidence while Shahbaz Khan led an expedition against the Rana. Henceforward the field of activities of Kuar Man Singh and his father Raja Bhagwant Das shifted from Mewar to extreme north and north-west of India i.e. Punjab, Peshwar and Kabul.

Before Kuar Man Singh proceeded to the North-West Frontier region of India, he successfully carried out an important assignment of Emperor Akbar. The Emperor ordered the Kuar to suppress the

<sup>100</sup> *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, translated by B. De, II, p. 493.

<sup>101</sup> *Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, III, p. 259.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 267.

*Sawanih-i-Akbari*, (MS), p. 187 (b).

<sup>103</sup> *Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, III, p. 269.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 277.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 307.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 339.

rebellion at Khhichiwara.<sup>105</sup> Man Singh at once proceeded from Amber in that direction with a strong contingent. On the way he suppressed and subdued the recalcitrant chiefs who dared to oppose him. Having established order in that region he set up military outposts in order to safeguard the interest of the Mughal Empire. When Kuar Man Singh reached the outskirts of Khhichiwara, he was bitterly opposed by the local *Sardars* (chiefs) whom the Kuar defeated in open conflict. Much booty fell into his hands, a considerable part of which was sent to the Mughal Emperor.<sup>106</sup>

After his victory at Khhichiwara, Kuar Man Singh marched towards Malwa and conquered the principality of Oond on the way. Kuar Man Singh established an efficient administration in Malwa and stamped out all disaffection in that region. He sent an account of all his glorious deeds to the Emperor who was much satisfied at the achievement of Kuar Man Singh. He was pleased to confer the mansab of 3500 on the Kuar and issued a *farman* directing him to proceed towards Kabul.<sup>107</sup>

<sup>105</sup> Khhichiwara is situated to the south of the covenanting State of Kotali (Rajasthan). Khilchipur was a Khinchi State in this region before integration.

<sup>106</sup> *Vanswali* in the State Archives of Jaipur, pp. 39-40.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*

## CHAPTER V

### KUAR MAN SINGH AS THE GOVERNOR OF KABUL

The deputation of Kuar Man Singh to the Punjab and north-west frontier regions of India was another mile-stone on the road to his success. The north-western part of the Mughal Empire was a (plague spot where the Afghans and the turbulent Afridis were a constant source of consternation to the Mughal Governor of the Punjab) The Mughal suzerainty in that region was very shaky and the situation demanded the presence of a man of sterling qualities and great abilities. These considerations weighed with the Emperor in transferring Kuar Man Singh to the Punjab.

(Akbar deputed Raja Todar Mal to the Punjab to arrange for the Jagirs of the Kachhwaha chiefs) which the Raja successfully accomplished.<sup>1</sup> Man Singh reported himself along with his father, Raja Bhagwant Das, to the Emperor in the Punjab in April, 1578 while the latter was engaged in hunting in the neighbourhood of Bhera in the Shahpur district of the Punjab.<sup>2</sup> The Emperor placed the services of Raja Bhagwant Das, Raja Gopal, Jugmal and other Kachhwaha chiefs at the disposal of Said Khan, the then Governor of the Punjab with the instruction that "they should exert themselves in service and not depart from the counsels of Said Khan and should not slumber in administering the province and maintaining their own preparedness."<sup>3</sup>

Man Singh was at once employed by Akbar for chastizing the Baluchi chiefs who had at first submitted to the Mughal Emperor but had later left the imperial camp and run away secretly. Man Singh could not accomplish the task assigned to him owing to the delay in receiving the order from the Emperor, during which interval, the Baluchi chiefs (i.e. Hazi Khan and others) had gone far away so as to be beyond the reach of the Kuar. Akbar was much displeased at the failure of the mission. He censured Man Singh and debarred him from paying homage for some time.<sup>4</sup>

The displeasure of the Emperor, however did not continue long, for the Kuar successfully carried out other important assignments. When Yusuf Khan, the king of Kashmir, was troubled by internal

<sup>1</sup> *Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, III, p. 358.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 345-48.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 380.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 358.

rebellion, he sought the protection of Kuar Man Singh who, with the help of another Mughal Officer, named Muhammad Yusuf Khan, brought the ruler of Kashmir to the imperial Court via Punjab in January, 1580.<sup>5</sup> Moreover, Sulaiman Mirza, who was formerly under the protection of Akbar, sided with Muhammad Hakim, ruler of Kabul, when the latter proposed to lead an expedition against Shahrukh Muhammad, king of Badakshan and a friend of Akbar. Akbar was highly displeased to hear of this attack of the Kabul ruler on his ally and friend, the Badakshan king. He at once directed Kuar Man Singh, Muhammad Yusuf Khan, Raja Bhagwant Das and other officers of the Punjab and Multan provinces to proceed to Badakshan and help Shahrukh.<sup>6</sup> But the expedition did not occur since the Kabul ruler did not venture an attack on Badakshan. Notwithstanding these engagements in the Punjab, Man Singh did not enjoy any independent status or command. He was merely a *mansabdar* of 3500,<sup>7</sup> and played a subordinate role in the affairs of the province with his headquarters at Sialkot, the then capital of the Punjab.

Kuar Man Singh was not destined to remain in the background for long and in January, 1580, he was entrusted with a responsible job. Akbar was not satisfied with Muhammad Yusuf Khan's management of administrative affairs in the North-Western Frontier Provinces wherefore he was removed and his place was given to Kuar Man Singh. The Kuar was also placed in charge of the administration of the neighbouring regions of the river Indus.<sup>8</sup> Man Singh shifted his headquarters from Sialkot to the Indus region with a view to keeping closer watch over those Mughal territories. Soon an opportunity came to him for showing his valour and statesmanship.

While Kuar Man Singh was at Rawalpindi,<sup>9</sup> he heard of Shadman's<sup>10</sup> attack on the Mughal territories. Shadman was held in high esteem by Muhammad Hakim, the ruler of Kabul, to whom the former was "the sword of the army". The Kuar further heard that Shadman has crossed the Indus and had besieged the fort of Nilab;<sup>11</sup> but the fort was being heroically defended by Zainuddin Ali whom the Kuar had sent earlier for defending the same.<sup>12</sup> The Kuar at

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 409.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 423-24.

<sup>7</sup> *Vansawali* in the State Archives of Jaipur, p. 40.

<sup>8</sup> *Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, III, p. 493.

*Maasir-ul-umara*, II, p. 49.

<sup>9</sup> In western Punjab in Pakistan.

<sup>10</sup> Shadman was the commander-in-chief of Mirza Muhammad Hakim, ruler of Kabul.

<sup>11</sup> Nilab is a town, 1 miles below Attock in Sind-Sagar Doab.

<sup>12</sup> *Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, III, p. 494.

*Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangiri*, II, p. 392(b).

once proceeded to that region and on the 22nd of December, 1580 attacked Shadman's forces in the night. The van of the army was entrusted to Alu Khan Kachhwaha and Suraj Singh, a brother of Man Singh. The forces of Kabul were attacked at a time when they were least prepared to face the attack.<sup>13</sup> The result was that the Afghan army had to meet with a crushing defeat at the hands of the Imperialists. Shadman was wounded by Suraj Singh and he died in the neighbourhood.<sup>14</sup> The news of the defeat and death of Shadman was received with great pleasure by the Emperor but he also apprehended some trouble on account of the death of the Afghan general. He was convinced of the fact that Mirza Muhammad Hakim would not take the defeat of his commander-in-chief lying down and he would certainly invade the Mughal dominion.<sup>15</sup> The Emperor at once deputed Rai Rai Singh, Jagannath, Raja Gopal and other loyal officers along with a large number of elephants, to the assistance of the Kuar for opposing the Mirza effectively. Akbar was not satisfied with this arrangement alone. He decided to march towards the Punjab personally.<sup>16</sup> He issued an order to Man Singh not to oppose the Mirza openly and to put off a direct engagement with him since the Emperor himself wanted to measure his strength with his half-brother.<sup>17</sup>

At the time when Kuar Man Singh had defeated Shadman, the Afghan Commander, he found three *farmans* in his possession. These were issued by Mirza Muhammad Hakim and were meant for Hakim-ul-Mulk, Muhammad Qasim Khan, the Mir-i-bahr and Khwaja Shah Mansur.<sup>18</sup> These *farmans* were in acknowledgment of letters written by these nobles to Mirza Muhammad Hakim promising him all help if the Mirza invaded India. The Kuar despatched these *farmans* to the Mughal Emperor at Fatehpur Sikri. These letters of the Mirza made Akbar suspicious of the designs of Shah Mansur and the latter was executed on February, 27, 1581.<sup>19</sup>

As Akbar had foreseen, Mirza Muhammad Hakim invaded the Punjab early in 1581.<sup>20</sup> There were some definite reasons for this

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>15</sup> *Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, III, p. 494.  
*Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangiri*, II, p. 392(b).

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>18</sup> Hakim-ul-Mulk was a physician in the Mughal Court, Md. Qasim Khan was a naval officer. Shah Mansur was a Finance Minister of Akbar and was responsible for important revenue reforms.

<sup>19</sup> Nizamuddin observes that Shah Mansur was executed on the basis of a forged *farman*. Karmulla, brother of Shahbaz Khan, was behind this conspiracy.  
*Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, translated by Elliot & Dowson, Vol. V, p. 426.

<sup>20</sup> *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, translated by B. De, II, p. 544.

invasion of the Mirza. The Afghan King had received letters of invitation from some Mughal nobles, prominent amongst them being Asikabuli and Masum Farahkundi.<sup>21</sup> Besides, the Mirza had been instigated by Faridun, his maternal uncle, to invade India on the plea that the time was opportune for the attack. In support of his plea, Faridun argued that Akbar was busy suppressing the rebellion of the orthodox Muslims in Bengal and Bihar at the time and, therefore, he (i.e. Akbar) would not be able to give full attention to the Afghan attack on the Punjab and in the meantime, the Mirza would easily take under his possession the north-western portion of the Mughal dominion. This argument appealed to Mirza Hakim who was already much aggrieved on account of the defeat and death of his dear commander, Shadman.

In February, 1581, when Emperor Akbar reached Delhi, on his way to the Punjab, he came to know that the Mirza had encamped at Lahore in the garden of Mahdi Qasim Khan and that Raja Bhagwant Das. Kuar Man Singh and Said Khan had shut themselves up in the fortress of Lahore.<sup>22</sup> Akbar was further informed that Raja Bhagwant Das and Kuar Man Singh could well have opposed the Kabul army in open engagement but they desisted from this course of action in obedience to the Emperor's order who had directed them not to come to an armed conflict with the Mirza. This accounts for the fact that they lay besieged within the fort of Lahore.<sup>23</sup>

Monserrate, the Portuguese traveller, has given a detailed description of this attack of the Mirza on Lahore. He states :

"Mirsachimus<sup>24</sup> reached the city (Lahore) in his invasion and established his camp on its eastern side near some very large gardens.<sup>25</sup> He ordered the commander of the citadel, Mancinus,<sup>26</sup> son of Bagoandas,<sup>27</sup> to surrender ; but he (Kuar Man Singh) replied : 'I shall not break my promise to your brother Zelaldinus (i.e. Akbar) who gave this fortress into my charge. If you wish to make trial of your fortune, advance to storm ; for I am ready to resist you. If you trust in your superior forces, I on the other hand am confident on account of the valour of my men, who will a

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>22</sup> *Muntakhab-ul-Tawarikh*, translated by W. H. Lowe, II, p. 299.

<sup>23</sup> *Muntakhab-ul-Tawarikh*, translated by W. H. Lowe, II, p. 300.

<sup>24</sup> *Raudat-ul-Tahirin*, (Persian MSS), p. 302.

<sup>25</sup> *Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, III, p. 494.

<sup>26</sup> Mirza Hakim.

<sup>27</sup> Badaoni calls it the garden of Mahdi Qasim Khan.

<sup>28</sup> Man Singh.

<sup>29</sup> Bhagwan Das. (According to Badaoni, Bhagwan Das was the commander of the fort of Lahore and the Kuar was helping his father in its protection. It is strange that Monserrate made no mention of Bhagwant Das, M. T. II, p. 300).

thousand times sooner die than surrender. If you storm and capture the citadel, I care not for my life. I only desire to be faithful to my Emperor, Zelaldinus.'

"However Mirsachimus, hoping that this great town would fall into his hands and thus desiring to conciliate the citizens, allowed no thefts or plunderings in the city, which has no walls : and assured all the citizens and merchants that they need have no fear for their safety, saying that he was waging war only against the commander of the citadel."<sup>28</sup>

Monserrate further continues : "When Mancinus refused to surrender, Mirza began to be sorry for having begun the war. He perceived that none of the great nobles were prepared to desert his brother and that even those traitors who had invited him to India would not stand by their promises for he received no re-inforcements. He began to be afraid of his brother's far greater power and resources and to regret that he had expended so much on an ill-conceived invasion which was foredoomed to failure. His supplies were running low and he began to think that he would have to retreat."<sup>29</sup>

Abul Fazl observes that several times Sher Khwaja Nad Ali, Qorban Ali and Mir Sikandar, the Afghan generals, attacked the fort of Lahore but they were repulsed. The siege did not last long. When the Mirza heard about the approach of the Emperor, he lost heart and withdrew from the city.<sup>30</sup>

Sujan Singh in his "*Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh*" states : "Mirza Hakim being unsuccessful in his mission left the city of Lahore in disgust and proceeded towards Kabul via Jalalpur, Hafizabad and Bhannara and crossed the river Indus near Khunt. Kuar Man Singh pursued the Mirza upto the river Indus and then returned to Lahore. When the story of this valour of Man Singh reached the ears of the Emperor, the latter was much pleased and gave him suitable rewards and increased his mansab to 5000."<sup>31</sup>

Afterwards Akbar sent a message of peace to Muhammad Hakim and asked him to submit, but when the Mirza did not comply, he sent a force under Prince Sultan Murad to Kabul to bring the Mirza to submission. Kuar Man Singh, Naurang Khan, Madhu Singh,

<sup>28</sup> Monserrate's *Commentary*, translated by Hoyland & Banerjee, p. 160, published in 1922.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>30</sup> *Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, III, p. 508.

<sup>31</sup> Singh, Sujan : *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh*, (Persian MSS), (under heading "Account of the rebellion of Muhammad Hakim Mirza").

Man Singh Darbari, Muhammad Beg Taklu formed the vanguard of the Prince's forces. This expedition set out in July, 1581.<sup>32</sup>

Father Monserrate, who was in the camp of Akbar on his Kabul expedition, describes this Mughal invasion on Kabul in his "Commentary". He writes :

"However, fearing lest his brother (Mirza Muhammad Hakim) should abuse his patience, if he went unpunished and should thus begin the war anew, Zelaldinus resolved to fight the matter out in such a way that his brother should be compelled to recognize his own inferiority. At the same time he determined that he himself would show all kindness and mercy towards the vanquished fugitive. . . The king made his son (Murad) whom the Priest (i.e. writer himself) was educating leader of the vanguard. He associated with him Calichumcanus,<sup>33</sup> Governor of Surat, an experienced and stalwart old man, Nourançanus<sup>34</sup> (whose father was the prince's tutor), Governor of Champanelium<sup>35</sup> in Gedrosia and Mancinus, an active and energetic chieftain, by race an Indian and a worshipper of idols. Calichumcanus had a corps of Mongols, Nourançanus four thousand Xacattaean cavalry, and Mancinus his own troops. Associated with these were other subordinate leaders with their forces, which, though in small detachments, amounted in all to at least a thousand cavalry. . . He paid great attention, with undue superstition, to the army's setting out at exactly the right time. He accompanied his son to the door of the royal headquarters and embraced him, after he had bidden him God-speed, after the Musalman fashion. He then dismissed him with his attendant nobles, who followed him to his boat. The Prince embarked, crossed the Indus, and set out on his march. . . .<sup>36</sup>

Monseratte further states :

"Meanwhile the advance guard, consisting of four thousand cavalry under Nourançanus the son of Cutubdicanus, received a severe check near Chabulum (Kabul). It was attacked by the whole army of Mirsachimus. (Mirza Hakim) consisting of 15000 Mongol horse. Nourançanus was compelled to apply to Mancinus who was in support, for instant help, but his corps delayed its arrival. Thus there was something

<sup>32</sup> Akbarnama, translated by H. Beveridge, III, pp. 518-19.

<sup>33</sup> Quliz Khan.

<sup>34</sup> Naurang Khan.

<sup>35</sup> Champanir, North-East of Baroda.

<sup>36</sup> Monserrate's *Commentary*, translated by J. S. Hoyland & Banerjee, pp. 123-25.

approaching a panic in the advance guard under Pahari, (Prince Murad) and a few had already even begun to fly. . . .”

“Mancinus at last came up, bringing much-needed relief to the Prince, who was hard beset. Some elephant-detachment also arrived, the sight of which generally terrifies horses which are unaccustomed to them, and thus throws cavalry into confusion. Thus the Prince was able to rally his forces on the open plain.”

“Meanwhile, Mirsachimus accused Faridumcanus of having deceived him by his previous assertion that the forces of Zalaldinus were but scanty ; and of having shown gross carelessness in allowing so large an army to enter his kingdom without his knowledge. He then ordered the retreat to be sounded even before Mancinus corps came up ; and thus the battle was broken off.”<sup>37</sup>

Thus the vanguard of the Imperialists led by Prince Murad inflicted a crushing defeat on Mirza’s forces and Mirza Muhammad Hakim fled towards northern Kabul. Man Singh and other officers of the Mughal army paid homage to the Emperor at Butkhak (near Kabul) since Akbar had also followed them closely. Kabul now lay at the feet of Akbar and he entered the Afghan capital on the 9th of August, 1581, and distributed rewards to his officers with whose help his expedition had been a great success.<sup>38</sup>

When Akbar decided to go back to Hindusthan, he made arrangements for the proper administration of the country lying north-west. The guardianship of the Indus province was entrusted to the care of Kuar Man Singh. The administration of the Punjab was given to the joint charge of Said Khan, Bhagwant Das and Kuar Man Singh.<sup>39</sup> This arrangement was made because there was still the danger of Mirza’s attacking the Punjab province again. When the danger from the side of the Mirza receded, the strong triumvirate was broken. Raja Bhagwant Das was made independent governor of the Punjab and Said Khan was transferred to Sambal, but Man Singh continued to be in charge of the Indus region. This arrangement was completed at the end of 1582 when Akbar recovered from a pain in the abdomen.<sup>40</sup>

Kuar Man Singh continued to administer successfully the pro-

<sup>37</sup> *Monserate’s Commentary*, translated by J. S. Hoyland & Banerjee, p. 189. (edited in 1922).

<sup>38</sup> *Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, III, pp. 539-40.

<sup>39</sup> *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, translated by B. De, II, p. 532.

*Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangiri*, II, p. 409(b).

<sup>40</sup> *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, translated by B. De, II, p. 557.

vince of Indus, and kept a close watch over the activities of Mirza Muhammad, the ruler of Kabul. In 1585, the Kuar had the honour of receiving Mirza Shah Rukh, ex-ruler of Badakshan. Man Singh sent the information to the Emperor that as Badakshan had gone under the possession of Abdullah Khan Ujbek, Mirza Shah Rukh had arrived on the bank of Nilab (Sind-Sagar Doab) with the idea of going to the Emperor. The Kuar further wrote to Akbar that he gave a right-royal reception to him and offered Rupees five thousand five hundred in cash and much cloth as well as eight horses and five elephants.<sup>41</sup> The Kuar also sent the information that he had arranged for his crossing the river Nilab and had sent him (Shah Rukh) towards the court. The representation of Man Singh received the appreciation of the Emperor and a grand *farman* containing many favours was issued to him.<sup>42</sup>

In the same year (i.e. 1585), Kuar Man Singh, who was stationed at Atak Banaras (Attock) came to know of the serious illness of Mirza Hakim and at once reported the matter to the Emperor at Fatchpur Sikri. He also informed the Emperor that Faridun, the maternal uncle of the Mirza, was at Peshawar and, on hearing the news of his nephew's illness, had started for Kabul.<sup>43</sup>

Soon Akbar heard the news of the death of Mirza Muhammad Hakim which took place on 30th July, 1585. Akbar at once decided to march towards the Punjab in order to remain at hand to guide and regulate the affairs at Kabul.<sup>44</sup> In the meantime, he sent an order to Kuar Man Singh to proceed at once to Kabul with some troops and to bring the people of that country to the allegiance of the Mughal Emperor. The Kuar was further directed to comfort the Mirza's survivors.<sup>45</sup> This fact has been further confirmed by De Laet, who states : "Mamet Hackim, ruler of Kabul died of disease and Raja Man Singh, a Rajput by race and commander of 5000 horses was despatched to turn that kingdom into a province."<sup>46</sup> Akbar himself started for the Punjab on the 22nd of August, 1585. While he was at Delhi, he received the news that Kuar Man Singh had sent a body of his men across the

<sup>41</sup> *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, translated by H. Beveridge, II, p. 597.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 597-98.

<sup>43</sup> *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, translated by W. H. Lowe, II, p. 350.

<sup>44</sup> *Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, III, p. 671.

<sup>45</sup> *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, translated by B. De, II, p. 602.

<sup>46</sup> *Hajiqattha-i-Hindustan*, (MS), p. 233.

<sup>47</sup> *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, translated by W. H. Lowe, II, p. 357.

<sup>48</sup> *Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, III, p. 703.

<sup>49</sup> *Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, III, p. 705.

<sup>50</sup> *Maasir-ul-umara*, translated by H. Beveridge, II, p. 49.

<sup>51</sup> De Laet, *The Empire of the Great Mogul*, p. 153.

Nilab to Peshawar and Shah Beg, a servant of the Mirza, on hearing the approach of the Kuar, had fled to Kabul.<sup>47</sup>

In the meantime, after the death of Mirza Muhammad Hakim in July, 1585, when Man Singh was commanded to hasten to Kabul to bring the revolted province under subjugation, Colonel Tod reports that the Kachhwaha army hesitated to cross the Indus, the Rubicon of the Hindus and which they term as 'Atak' or 'the Barrier' as being the limit between their 'faiths' and the 'barbarian'. Kuar Man Singh reported the matter to Emperor Akbar, and sought his advice. The accomplished Akbar sent him a couplet in the dialect of Rajasthan viz.:

*"Sub hynbhumi Gopal Ca"*— "The whole earth is of God.

*"Jis mi uttuc kaha"*— "In which he has placed no  
uttuc.

*"Jis Ca mun myn uttuc hy"*— "The mind which admits im-  
pediments.

*"So een uttuc hoega"*— "Will always find an uttuc  
(impediment)."

Colonel Tod observes that this delicate irony succeeded when stronger language would have failed.<sup>48</sup>

It is possible that the Kachhwaha Rajputs objected on religious grounds to cross the Indus but the incident as narrated by Colonel Tod does not seem convincing. This singular success of Akbar in overcoming the opposition of the Amber army by a single Rajasthani couplet is such an important event that it could not have escaped the attention of Abul Fazl. It is strange that the Court-historian makes no reference to this incident. Besides, if the Kuar's army objected to crossing the river Indus in 1585 it could not be due to their religious susceptibility, because they had already crossed the Indus in 1581 while pursuing Mirza Muhammad Hakim along with prince Murad<sup>49</sup> and therefore, if once they had crossed the Indus, the objection to crossing it for the second time in 1585 did not hold any valid ground. If they had any objection at all, they could have put it forward in 1581 and not in 1585. Moreover, if the Kachhwaha army had any serious objection to crossing the Indus, no amount of persuasion on the part of the leader of the army (i.e., Man Singh) nor even a score of couplets from the Emperor would have succeeded in persuading them to cross the river because it was well-nigh impossible to set aside religious scruples, if these had really existed,

<sup>47</sup> Colonel, Tod : *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, p. 336 (footnote).

<sup>48</sup> Tod, Colonel, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, p. 336 (footnote).

<sup>49</sup> *Akbar-nama*, translated by H. Beveridge, III, pp. 518-19.

by such a strategem. Moreover, Colonel Tod does not adduce any reference whatsoever in support of this statement of his. Hence this narration of the Colonel does not seem to be true.

As per direction of the Emperor, Kuar Man Singh crossed the Indus and reached Peshawar. The Afghans of that region submitted without any trouble.<sup>50</sup> When Man Singh reached Kabul, he found confusion reigning supreme there. The Mirza's son Qaiqobad and Afrasiyab were very tender in age and were, therefore, quite unable to administer the country. Taking advantage of the minority of the princes, the nobles of Kabul had brought the administration of the country under their control.<sup>51</sup>

The arrival of Kuar Man Singh marked an era of peace and tranquillity in Kabul. *Iqbalnamah* reports that a large number of Kabulis came to see the imperial commander. The Raja learnt that before he reached Kabul, Mirza Bukhtanisa Begum (own sister of Mirza Muhammad Hakim and foster sister of Akbar) along with the widow of Mirza Muhammad Hakim and the two sons of Mirza (i.e., Afrasiyab and Qaiqobad) and accompanied by Faridun Khan had left Kabul for Jalalabad. Kuar Man Singh hastened to Jalalabad (near Kabul) and reached a place called Butkhak or Tabkhak which was three miles off Jalalabad. The Kabulis were overawed and they submitted to the Kachhwaha forces. Kabul lay at the feet of Kuar Man Singh. He comforted the Kabulis and assured them of imperial protection.<sup>52</sup>

After having established order in Kabul, Kuar Man Singh made preparations to pay his respects to the Emperor who had already reached the Punjab. He left his eldest son, Jagat Singh, with Khwaja Sams-ud-din Khan Khafi in Kabul to look after the affairs there and to keep a vigilant eye on the Kabulis and himself marched along with the two sons of the Mirza, Begum Bukhtanisa, Faridun Khan and other amirs of Kabul to Rawalpindi in the Punjab where the Emperor was halting. The Kuar reported himself to the Emperor at Rawalpindi in December, 1585. He presented Afrasiyab and Qaiqobad, (the two Kabul princes) Farrukh Beg (afterwards famous as one of the best painters at Akbar's Court) and Begum Bukhtanisa to the Emperor who received them warmly and showered many favours on them. They were given titles and jagirs befitting their

<sup>50</sup> *Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangiri*, (MS), p. 454(b).

<sup>51</sup> *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, translated by B. De, II, p. 605.

*Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, translated by W. H. Lowe, II, pp. 358-59.

<sup>52</sup> *Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangiri*, p. 454(b).

*Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, translated by B. De, II, p. 605.

*Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, translated by W. H. Lowe, II, pp. 358-59.

Raushanias or Tarikis, as they were called, taking advantage of the small force attached to Kuar Man Singh, invested Ali Masjid on a dark night and several of them got at the top of the fort. But Man Singh, with the help of the small force, repulsed the attack and forced the enemies to retire to another place. By the next morning, the turbulent Tarikis were driven out and many of them were killed. A large number of Tarikis were also taken prisoners. The result was that the Turan Ambassador not only crossed the Khybar Pass but was safely escorted on the other side of river Indus. The foreign visitor started for Fatehpur Sikri in order to pay homage to the Emperor.<sup>61</sup>

Soon Kuar Man Singh was commissioned to do another important work. Prince Murad along with Raja Todarmal had been sent to extirpate the Yusufzais<sup>62</sup> who were responsible for the murder of Raja Birbal in Malandarai Pass (lying between Peshawar and Swat) in February, 1586.<sup>63</sup> Raja Todarmal did not like the idea that a young prince like Murad should fight the formidable Yusufzai tribes and therefore, he represented to the Emperor that somebody else should be sent in place of Prince Murad.<sup>64</sup>

The Emperor accepted the representation of Todarmal and directed Kuar Man Singh to help the Raja in suppressing the Yusufzais.<sup>65</sup> At that time, the Kuar was stationed at Jamrud (near entrance to Khybar Pass) and was meditating over the punishment of the Tarikis (Raushanias). When the Kuar received the order of the Emperor, he at once proceeded to make the mission a success. In consultation with Raja Todarmal, he established his camp on the bank of the river Indus. He got a fort constructed which lay between Bunner Pass and Ohind which was meant to serve two purposes : (i) as a defence from the attacks of the Yusufzais, and (ii) as a base for launching an offensive against them. Raja Todarmal was fully satisfied with the policy and plans of the Kuar and left him in sole charge of conducting the operations against the Yusufzais. The Raja himself came back to Fatehpur and paid his homage to the Emperor in March, 1586.<sup>66</sup>

<sup>61</sup> *Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, III, p. 734.  
*Muntakhab-ul-Tawarikh*, translated by W. H. Lowe, II, p. 362.

<sup>62</sup> The Yusufzais were an Afghan tribe of the north-west region.

<sup>63</sup> *Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, III, p. 734.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>65</sup> *Muntakhab-ul-Tawarikh*, translated by W. H. Lowe, II, p. 364.  
*Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, III, p. 786.

<sup>66</sup> *Khulasat-ul-Tawarikh*, under heading "Account of the rebellion of Muhammad Hakim Mirza".

*Haqiqat-i-Hindustan*, p. 284.

*Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangiri*, p. 534.

<sup>67</sup> *Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, III, pp. 786 & 789.

With the departure of Kuar Man for the punishment of the Yusufzais, the seat of governorship of Kabul became vacant. It was not safe to keep the vacancy pending because there was the danger of fresh outbreak of rebellion amongst the Afghans in Kabul. Therefore, Raja Bhagwant Das, who was then the governor of the Punjab, was directed to proceed to Kabul in place of Kuar Man Singh. But in the meantime, he developed signs of madness and therefore he was forbidden to leave his territories. The Raja, however, soon recovered and was allowed to proceed to Kabul with several other officers.<sup>67</sup>

But the poor Raja was not destined to reach Kabul. On his way to the Afghan capital, Raja Bhagwant Das crossed the Indus and halted in the Sarai of Khairabad. For some days, he looked after military affairs but suddenly he again showed symptoms of madness. He was brought back to Attock and was placed under the treatment of a physician named Saman. While this physician was feeling his pulse, the Raja drew his dagger and wounded himself. On hearing this news, the Emperor sent four physicians from the Court, named Hasan, Mahadeva, Khangar and Daulat Khan with the instruction that any-one of them might be employed for the treatment of the Raja. Mahadeva was chosen by the Raja's friends and under his treatment, Bhagwant Das improved.<sup>68</sup>

But the question of the governorship of Kabul had not yet been decided. Ismail Quli Khan, a Mughal grandee, was sent to Kabul while Raja Bhagwant was taken ill. But the former did not acquit himself well. He indulged in idle thoughts and thus mismanaged the administration. Akbar rightly decided that it was not safe to keep such a man at the helm of affairs in Kabul.<sup>69</sup>

The need of a suitable governor for Kabul was considered more urgent than the chastizement of the Yusufzais. None but Kuar Man Singh was considered suitable for the post and, therefore, the Kuar was directed to assume the reins of Government of Kabul. Ismail Quli Khan was deputed in place of the Kuar for the suppression of the Yusufzais.<sup>70</sup> The Emperor further directed Madhava Singh, brother of Man Singh, Said Khan Gakhar, Abul Qasim Tamkin and

<sup>67</sup> *Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, III, pp. 742-43.  
*Iqbalmah-i-Jahangiri*, p. 462.

<sup>68</sup> *Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, III, p. 745.  
*Iqbalmah-i-Jahangiri*, p. 462(b).

<sup>69</sup> *Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, III, p. 745.  
*Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, translated by B. De, II, p. 615.

<sup>70</sup> *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh*, under heading "Account of the rebellion of Muhammad Hakim Mirza."

Syed Hamid Bukhari to assist Ismail Quli Khan who was ordered to make Peshawar his headquarters.<sup>71</sup>

In December, 1586, Akbar re-organized his administrative structure in order to ensure efficiency and better management. He directed that every province should have two officers of equal rank in order that if one came to the imperial Court or fell ill, the other might look after his work. A Diwan and a Bakshi were also appointed in each province. Consequently Man Singh was confirmed in his appointment as the governor of Kabul and Zain Khan Kokah was made the second officer. Nizamulmulk was appointed Diwan and Khwaja Shams-ud-din was given the post of Bakshi.<sup>72</sup> Assisted by these subordinate staff, Kuar Man Singh carried on the administration of Kabul quite efficiently.

In the middle of September, 1586, Muhammad Sulaiman, ex-ruler of Badakshan, came to Kabul on his way to Agra for paying his homage to the Emperor. Kuar Man Singh left Kabul in charge of Khwaja Shamsuddin Khafi (since Zain Khan Kokah was away punishing the Tarikis or Raushanias) and himself accompanied Mirza to serve him as his guide. When Man Singh along with Muhammad Sulaiman reached *Pesh Bulaq* near Jalalabad, he was taken ill. He suffered from fever and pain in his body and remained confined to bed for about a month and a half. In view of the illness of the Kuar, the whole caravan had to stop. The enemies got an opportunity to harass Man Singh. The Mahmud and Ghori tribes in conjunction with other Afghans attacked the caravan led by the Kuar. At first Man Singh was a helpless spectator but gradually he recovered and then he made preparations to punish the Afghans. He left Mir Sharif Amuli, Janish Bahadur, the Ataliq, Khwaja Muhammad Hussain, Ghazi Khan of Qazwin and his own son Himmat Singh with Mirza Sulaiman and took with himself Takhtah Beg and a force of 3000 horse. He found that the Afghans had deposited heaps of stones on both sides of Khybar Pass from Peshawar to Tirah. Tirah lay on the east of Peshawar. Man Singh's plan was to march to Tirah by route of Narwan and to attack from there the Afridis who were the guiding spirit of the Afghan opposition. The Kuar also learnt that Sakat Singh, son of Man Singh Darbari, and Zainuddin Ali had halted at Begram and were not in a position to

<sup>71</sup> *Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, III, p. 745.  
*Mansir-i-umara*, translated by H. Beveridge, II, p. 50.

*Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, translated by B. De, II, p. 615.

*Muniaikhut-Tawarikh*, translated by W. H. Lowe, II, p. 364.

*Iqbainamah-i-Jahangiri*, p. 462 (b).

<sup>72</sup> *Akbarnamah*, translated by H. Beveridge, III, p. 779.

proceed further on account of the Khybar Pass being closed by the Afghan tribes. Kuar Man Singh also learnt that Madhava Singh was halting at Attock with the Kachhwaha forces of Raja Bhagwant Das.<sup>73</sup>

On the 13th of December, 1586, Man Singh along with 3000 horsemen marched from *Pesh Bulaq* and reached *Chahar Chobah*, a defile near Tirah early morning. The defile was snowed up. It was with great difficulty that Man Singh crossed the snowy hills and arrived at Bazarak. On the 15th of December, 1586, an army under Muhammad Quli Beg, a general in the camp of Man Singh, attacked the Afridis, defeated them and collected much booty. Here, some difference of opinion between Man Singh and his subordinate officers with regard to the future line of action took place. Some thought that they should return and deposit the plunder at a safe place and then proceed onwards. This suggestion was rejected by the Kuar and he pushed on further. They passed by the homes of the Ghori tribes who saved themselves by submitting. But in the meantime, the near guards of the Imperialists led by Takhta Beg was attacked by Jalala, the leader of the Yusufzais. Thus a fierce fight ensued. Kuar Man Singh, who was in the van, sent re-inforcements. The Afghans were defeated and they fled away. The Kuar left his eldest son, Jagat Singh, with the rear guard and went on towards Ali Masjid. But Man Singh's advance was checked by the attacks of the hordes of Afghan tribesmen.<sup>74</sup> *Vansawali*, in the State Archives of Jaipur, states that the number of the Afghans, who opposed Man Singh, was three lacs.<sup>75</sup> This figure seems to be an exaggerated one, but at any rate their number was considerable. The Imperialists were stranded in a defile and a large number of arrows were shot and heavy stones hurled by the Afghans at the Mughal army. The position of Man Singh had become very precarious in that there was no open ground for fight and no place of shelter wherein they could save themselves from stones and arrows of the enemies. But the Kuar vigorously continued his fights with the enemies and occasionally there were wonderful combats. Suddenly an open place was discovered. Now, the Imperialists got a chance to show their skill and strength of arms. The Afghans could not fight with the Kuar's forces for long and they fled through the narrow defiles.<sup>76</sup>

Man Singh was not yet free from troubles from the side of the enemies. Nizamuddin tells us that the Tarikis and Afghans came in

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 781-82.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 780-84.

<sup>75</sup> *Vansawali* in the State Archives of Jaipur.

<sup>76</sup> *Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, III, pp. 780-84.

large hordes all day and night and carried on the fight. At this time Madhava Singh, his brother, who was with Ismail Quli Khan at the *thana* (military post) of Ohind arrived with a well-ordered army to reinforce Man Singh. After that the Afghans fled. About 2000 of them were slain.<sup>77</sup> The victorious army marched to Ali Masjid. Out of deep respect for Muhammad Sulaiman, Kuar Man Singh, contrary to the advice of his friends, himself went by the Khybar Pass to *Pesh Bulaq* and brought the Mirza and the caravan to Peshawar. At this time Zain Khan Kokah arrived with his army and vigorous attempts were made to extirpate the Tarikis.<sup>78</sup>

Kuar Man Singh sent his own son, Jagat Singh, as well as Muhammad Quli Beg and Man Singh Durbari along with Mirza Sulaiman to serve as escorts and himself stayed behind.<sup>79</sup>

In March, 1587, Kuar Man Singh was recalled from Kabul and the Province was placed in charge of Zain Khan Koka.<sup>80</sup> Badaoni and Nizamuddin mention the fact of Man Singh's recall but do not assign any reason for the same. However, Abul Fazl does advance some reasons for it. He says, "As it appeared that the Rajput clan behaved with injustice to the subjects of that country and that Kuar Man Singh did not look closely into the cases of the oppressed and disliked that cold country, it was taken from him and he was appointed to chastize the Tarikis."<sup>81</sup>

The causes advanced by Abul Fazl for the recall of Kuar Man Singh from Kabul do not appear to be very convincing. It is possible that the Rajputs might have perpetrated some oppressions on the Afghans and the Kuar might not have taken the trouble of looking into the grievances. It is also true that the Rajputs disliked the cold climate of Afghanistan<sup>82</sup> and were anxious to go back to their homes in India. But all these do not seem to constitute the real cause of Man Singh's recall. The recall was due to something else.

The Afghans entertained a feeling of strong antipathy towards the Rajputs of Hindusthan. The presence of the Rajputs in Kabul proved galling to the proud Afghans and the latter were fretting and fuming under the domination of the former. Hence the Kachhwaha Rajputs became an eye-sore to the nobles and commoners alike.

<sup>77</sup> *Muntakhab-ul-Tawarikh*, translated by W. H. Lowe, II, p. 366.  
*Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, translated by B. De, p. 619.

<sup>78</sup> *Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, III, pp. 780-84.  
*Raudat Tahirin*, (Persian MS), p. 303.

<sup>79</sup> *Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, III, p. 790.  
*Ibid.*

<sup>80</sup> *Muntakhab-ul-Tawarikh*, translated by W. H. Lowe, II, p. 370.

<sup>81</sup> *Muntakhab-ul-Tawarikh*, translated by W. H. Lowe, II, p. 370.  
*Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangiri*, p. 477.

<sup>82</sup> *Maasir-ul-umara*, translated by H. Beveridge, p. 50.

of Kabul. Akbar was aware of this inner feeling of the Afghans of the Province of Kabul. Moreover, the work of Kuar Man Singh in Afghanistan had been finished. Under his governorship the recalcitrant Afghans were completely humbled and Kabul was annexed to the Mughal Empire. Besides, the ever-rebellious Afghan tribes of the extreme north-west viz. the Yusufzais and Raushanias were suppressed for the time being and there was now no need of maintaining the Kuar in Kabul.

Besides, the transfer of Kuar Man Singh was done in usual course. After every two or three years the Mughal Governors were transferred from one province to another. Therefore, Man Singh was also transferred to the province of Bihar in 1587. Along with Man Singh's transfer, other important transfers were also made. In this connection, Nizamuddin writes :

"Man Singh was summoned to the threshold which was the asylum of all men. . . . About the end of Shaban 995 A.H. (i.e. 25th September, 1587) Man Singh arrived at the threshold and at the end of the year, he was honoured with the government of the country of Bihar, Hajipur and Patna and received permission to go there. About the same time also the government of Kashmir was entrusted to Mirza Yusuf Khan. Muhammad Kasim Khan was summoned from that country. Md. Sadiq Khan was sent to Swad and Bajaur.<sup>63</sup> for the destruction of Yusufzais and the jagirs of Man Singh at Sialkot were bestowed on him. Ismail Quli Khan was sent from Swad (Swat) and Bajaur and was sent to Gujarat in place of Quliz Khan and the latter was summoned to the court."<sup>64</sup>

Thus the transfer of Kuar was not due to any maladministration on his part but it was done in the usual course of administrative reorganisation.

Before Man Singh was entrusted with the governorship of Bihar, he was given another assignment by the Emperor, i.e. the complete annihilation of the Tarikis. At this time, Man Singh was stationed at Jamrud near Khybar Pass. He at once proceeded to carry out the order. He inflicted a crushing defeat upon Jalala Tarikis in August, 1587, at Dar Samand (Bangash). Upon the defeat of the Jalala Tarikis, the Afridis and Orakzai tribes also submitted. It was reported

<sup>63</sup> Swad and Bajaur were Sarkars in the Subalt of Kabul.

*Ain-i-Akbari*, translated by H. S. Jarrett, II, p. 391.

<sup>64</sup> *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, translated by B. De, II, p. 622.

*Muntakhab-ul-Tawarikh*, translated by W. H. Lowe, II, p. 375.

*Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangiri*, p. 477.

to Akbar that Jalala Tarikis after being defeated by Kuar Man Singh were unable to remain in their former station and fled towards Bangash.<sup>85</sup> Thereupon Akbar appointed Abdul Matlab Khan to march to Bangash and to destroy the hostile Afghans.<sup>86</sup> Yusuf Khan, the ex-ruler of Kashmir, was released from prison and given jagirs in Bihar and was placed under the charge of Kuar Man Singh,<sup>87</sup> who, as has already been mentioned above, had been appointed the governor of Bihar, Hajipur and Patna and had received permission to go there.<sup>88</sup>

There is absolutely no evidence regarding Man Singh's administration of Kabul. But according to Mr. Wheeler, some interesting notices issued by Kuar Man Singh had been collected by Mr. Blochmann, on the basis of which it can be concluded that the administration was 'just and prudent.'<sup>89</sup> However, these general conclusions do not help us in arriving at any definite conclusion.

Lakshmi Narayan observes in his "*Haqiqatha-i-Hindustan*" that while Man Singh was the *jagirdar* of Sialkot, he repaired its old fort and beautified the city. The old fort had been repaired by Muhammad Ghori and after that it was Man Singh who paid attention to its repairs.<sup>90</sup>

Sri Hanuman Sharma in his book entitled "History of Jaipur" writes that the present five colour flag of Jaipur was designed by Kuar Man Singh while he was the governor of Kabul. Before this, the State flag was white in colour. Sri Sharma further states that while Manohar Das, an officer of Man Singh, was fighting with the Afghans of the north-west frontier, he obtained from them by way of plunder five flags of different colours. These flags were blue, yellow, red, green and black in colour. Manohar Das suggested to the Kuar that the State flag of Amber should be multi-coloured instead of the white one colour that it was. The suggestion was at once accepted and since then the State banner of Jaipur had five colours on it—blue, yellow, red, green and black.<sup>91</sup>

The statement of Sri Sharma has behind it the support of local tradition. The people of Jaipur affirm that the five-coloured royal flag of the State was first prepared by Kuar Man Singh while he was the governor of Kabul. Further, Sri Pattabhiram Shastri, Principal

<sup>85</sup> Bangash was a *tuman* (pargana comprising towns and villages) of the Sarkar of Kabul in Afghanistan.

<sup>86</sup> *Akbarnama*, translated by H. S. Jarrett, II, pp. 407.)

<sup>87</sup> *Iqbalramah-i-Jahangiri*, p. 477.

<sup>88</sup> *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, translated by B. Dc, II, p. 622.

<sup>89</sup> Wheeler, *History of India*, p. 166.

<sup>90</sup> *Haqiqatha-i-Hindustan*, p. 78.  
<sup>91</sup> Sharma, Hanuman, *History of Jaipur*, p. 103 (published in Jaipur).

of Maharaja Sanskrit College, Jaipur, in his Introduction to "*Jaivans Mahakavyam*" also refers to the fact that the five-coloured flag of the State of Jaipur was the product of Man Singh's imagination.<sup>92</sup>

Kuar Man Singh had proved successful in suppressing the turbulent Afghan tribes of the north-western regions of India. Though the Afghans of the frontier regions were suppressed, the Afghans of the Eastern Provinces were causing great headache to the Emperor. Hence, Akbar decided to utilize the services of Kuar Man Singh for this purpose and this was the chief reason for the Kuar's appointment as the governor of Bihar. Besides, Wazir Khan, the governor of Bengal, had died of diarrhoea in August, 1587, and his place was offered to Said Khan, the governor of Bihar so that the post of the governor of Bihar fell vacant.<sup>93</sup>

Moreover, in the latter part of the 16th century, Bihar had become a disturbed area where the recalcitrant and refractory zamindars of the Province were creating much trouble for the Mughal governor. Therefore, the situation demanded that a man of ability and proved statesmanship should be placed in charge of the *Subah* of Bihar. Kuar Man Singh, who had won laurels in Kabul campaigns, was rightly considered as a suitable man for this important position. Thus, Kuar Man Singh and Raja Bhagwant Das were offered fiefs in Bihar and their jagirs in the Punjab were allotted to Muhammad Sadiq Khan.<sup>94</sup>

<sup>92</sup> Pandit, Sitaram, *Jaivans Mahakavyam*, (Introduction), p. 8.

<sup>93</sup> *Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, III, p. 801.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*

## CHAPTER VI

### KUAR MAN SINGH AS THE GOVERNOR OF BIHAR

There has been a good deal of confusion in the writings of the majority of modern writers on many points relating to Kuar Man Singh's governorship of Bihar. Some historians are of opinion that the Kuar was the governor of Bihar only for a short time but that of Bengal for a long time. V. A. Smith observes : "A little later, after his reputed father's death, the great Province of Bengal was added to his charge. Man Singh, who succeeded Bhagwan Das as Raja in 1589 . . . . remained in charge of Bengal, with little interruption, until the closing days of Akbar's life, but resided for a considerable time at Ajmer, leaving the provincial administration in the hands of deputies.<sup>1</sup>

Probably Mr. Smith has followed Nizamuddin, the author of *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, who writes that the government of Bihar, Hajipur and Patna was conferred upon Man Singh in 996 A.H. or 1587 A.D. and then adds that in the 35th year of Akbar's reign, Raja Bhagwant Das having died, Kuar Man Singh, who held the government of Bihar and Bengal, was awarded the title of Raja.<sup>2</sup>

Abul Fazl has rightly assigned two periods for Man Singh's stay in Bihar and Bengal :

In Bihar : December, 1587 to March, 1594.

In Bengal : March, 1594 to 1602-1605.<sup>3</sup>

Man Singh remained in Bihar from December, 1587 to March, 1594 i.e. for over seven years ; then he was transferred to Bengal. He remained as the governor of Bengal from 1594 to 1602. In 1602, Akbar made over the provinces of Bengal and Orissa to Prince Salim and Man Singh was asked to report himself to the imperial Court. But Salim refused to honour the command of the Emperor and, therefore, Man Singh's tenure remained undisturbed. He continued to hold charge of the *Subah* of Bengal till 1605.<sup>4</sup>

The condition of Bihar on the eve of Man Singh's appointment was rather chaotic. On the one hand there were many small chieftains who frittered away their energies in mutual fights and dissensions, caring little for the authority of the Mughal Emperor, much

<sup>1</sup> Smith, V. A., *Akbar The Great Mogul*, p. 241.

<sup>2</sup> *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, translated by B. De, II, pp. 622 and 630.

<sup>3</sup> *Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, III, pp. 801, 999, 1211 & 1251.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*, p. 1211.

less of his governor, and ruling more or less independently. On the other, there were the Pathan and Afghan chiefs who often rose in rebellion against the Mughal suzerainty, thus proving themselves a source of constant headache to the Mughal governor of Bihar. The Province of Bihar was torn asunder by petty squabbles, mutual strife and internal disorder. Really Man Singh was confronted with a very difficult situation. But he rose equal to the occasion and undertook to restore peace and order in the State with energy and determination.

But before Kuar Man Singh could settle himself in Bihar a great calamity beset him. His father, Raja Bhagwant Das, breathed his last in Lahore on the 13th of November, 1589.<sup>5</sup> The Raja had gone to attend the cremation of Raja Todar Mal, who had died at Lahore on the 8th of November, 1589. After Raja Bhagwant Das returned to his house, he had a vomiting followed by an attack of strangury which culminated in his death five days after.<sup>6</sup> The death of Raja Bhagwant Das was extremely shocking to the Kuar whose sorrow must have been all the greater because he was not present by the side of his father at the time of his death.

There has been some difference as to the date of death of Raja Bhagwant Das between *Akbarnama* and the Genealogical Table in the State Archives of Jaipur. *Akbarnama* states that Raja Bhagwant Das died on the 13th or 14th November, 1589,<sup>7</sup> but the Genealogical Table shows that the Raja breathed his last on Margsirsa Sudi 7, 1646 V.S. i.e. 4th December, 1589. In my opinion, it is proper to accept the date as mentioned in *Akbarnama* because Abul Fazl, being the Court-historian, must be taken as giving authentic and first-hand information regarding events that occurred during the time of Emperor Akbar.

Raja Bhagwant Das was a very faithful officer of the Mughal Empire. He had the *masnad* of 5000.<sup>8</sup> He rendered valuable services as a commander to Akbar in Gujarat and Sarnal expeditions and various other wars of conquest that took place for the expansion of the Mughal Empire. He successfully filled the post of the governor of the Punjab from 1582 to 1589 A. D. Raja Bhagwant Das bore the lofty title of *Amirul-umara* or Premier Noble.<sup>9</sup> *Maasir-ul-umara* observes that the *Jama Masjid* at Lahore was built by the Raja<sup>10</sup> but Growse holds a different view and thinks that the mosque was

<sup>5</sup> *Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, II, p. 863.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> Smith, V. A., *Akbar The Great Mogul*, p. 242.

<sup>9</sup> *Maasir-ul-umara*, translated by H. Beveridge, I, p. 405.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*

erected by Aurangzeb in 1674.<sup>11</sup> Though the Raja died in Lahore, his last rites were performed in Amber where a sepulchre was raised over his ashes in the royal cemetery. The cenotaph from base to top is plain and executed in the traditional style of such structures in Rajputana.<sup>12</sup>

The Genealogical Table of the Kachhwaha rulers furnishes one important information which has also been stated in *Vir-Sinod*,<sup>13</sup> that Raja Bhagwant Das died on Margsirsa Sudi 7, 1646 V. S. i.e. 4th December, 1589 but Kuar Man Singh ascended the throne of Amber on Magh Budi 5, V. S. 1647, i.e. 14th February, 1590. Thus there was a delay in the succession to the throne by about two and a half months. The reasons are not far to seek. Kuar Man Singh was at Patna when his father died and Akbar was in Kabul.<sup>14</sup> It is quite likely that more than two months passed before Man Singh could get to Amber from Patna and the formal letter of Investiture could be obtained from Emperor Akbar who was the over-lord of the Kachhwahas. This accounts for the delay in the accession of Man Singh to the throne of Amber.

The 'Kuar' became 'Raja' Man Singh after his succession on Magh Budi 5, V. S. 1647 or 14th February, 1590 according to the Genealogical Table or on Mangsar, Sudi 8, V. S. 1646 i.e. 5th December, 1589 according to *Jaipur Vansawali* or on 13th or 14th November, 1589 according to *Akbarnama*.<sup>15</sup> In my opinion, *Akbarnama* and Genealogical Table in the State Archives of Jaipur are both correct. Legally speaking Man Singh, being the eldest son of his father, automatically became the Raja of Amber immediately after the death of his father on 13th or 14th November, 1589, according to Law of Primogeniture. His formal investiture was delayed by two and a half months which event took place on 14th February, 1589 and this date seems to have been noted by the Genealogical Table as the date of succession of Man Singh to the throne of Amber. The coronation ceremony was held at Amber with great pomp and splendour. Abul Fazl writes that the Kuar received the title of 'Raja' and the rank of 5000 from Emperor Akbar.<sup>16</sup> Moreover, Akbar issued a *farman* of imperial favour granting him a special robe of honour and a horse

<sup>11</sup> Growse, *Mathma*, p. 301.

<sup>12</sup> Based on personal observation.

<sup>13</sup> *Vir-Sinod*, II, p. 1279.

<sup>14</sup> *Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, III, p. 861.

<sup>15</sup> *Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, III, p. 863.

*Vansawali* in the State Archives of Jaipur, p. 40.

Genealogical Table in the State Archives of Jaipur.

<sup>16</sup> *Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, III, p. 863.

*Masir-ul-Umara*, translated by H. Beveridge, III, p. 50.

and sent them along with one of the *Ahadis*.<sup>17</sup> The *Vansawali* tells us that Emperor Akbar sent 'tika' through *Nazir-i-Sarkar* (Munshi of Sarkar) and along with it he sent a number of elephants, horses, *khilat*, one bejewelled sword and a mansab of three thousand *Sowars*.<sup>18</sup> So far as the last item is concerned, it is belied by a number of trustworthy evidences to the contrary.

Sujan Singh states in his 'Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh' that when Kuar Man Singh successfully repulsed the attack of Muhammad Mirza Hakim in February, 1581, the Emperor was pleased to increase his mansab to 5000.<sup>19</sup> This fact has also been mentioned by De Laet who observes : "Mamet Hakim, ruler of Kabul, died of disease and Raja Man Singh, a Rajput by race and a commander of 5000 horses, was despatched to turn that kingdom into a province."<sup>20</sup> Thus both these writers have clearly stated that Man Singh was already the mansabdar of 5000 much before his accession to the throne of Amber. It is rather difficult to disagree with Abul Fazl who observes that Man Singh was awarded the mansab of 5000 at the time of his accession to the throne of Amber. It is quite possible that the Kuar was holding a temporary mansab of 5000 during the life-time of his father and he was confirmed in that rank after his accession to the throne of Amber. But the contention of the *Vansawali* that Raja Man Singh received a mansab of 3000<sup>21</sup> is without any historical basis.

After the coronation was over, Raja Man Singh came to Bihar and engaged himself in establishing a firm and stable administration in the *Subah*. Mr. Blochman observes that at the time of the conquest of Bengal and Bihar by Akbar, there were three principal Zamindars in the North Bihar, besides other minor ones in Shahabad, Chotanagpur and other areas of the South Bihar. These were :

- (1) Raja Gajpat of Hajipur ;
- (2) Raja Puranmal of Gidhaur ;
- (3) Raja Singram of Kharagpur ;<sup>22</sup>

Raja Man Singh, first of all, turned his attention towards Raja Puranmal of Gidhaur. The Gidhaur Raja, proud of his formidable mud fort, had shown a highly defiant attitude for some time past. Raja Man Singh led an expedition against him, captured his fort and took much plunder. Puranmal surrendered to the Raja and sought his protection. He presented several elephants and other

<sup>17</sup> *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, translated by B. De, II, p. 630.

<sup>18</sup> *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, translated by W. H. Lowe, II, p. 884.

<sup>19</sup> *Vansawali* in the State Archives of Jaipur, p. 40.

<sup>20</sup> *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh*, under the heading "Account of the rebellion of Muhammad Hakim Mirza".

<sup>21</sup> De Laet, *Empire of the Great Mogul*, p. 153.

<sup>22</sup> *Vansawali* in the State Archives of Jaipur, p. 40.

<sup>22</sup> J. R. A. S., Bengal, December, 1870, p. 306.

precious articles. He also gave his daughter in marriage to Chandrabhan, a brother of Man Singh.<sup>23</sup> Besides, local zamindars also married their daughters to the sons and brothers of Raja Man.<sup>24</sup>

Raja Man Singh next subdued Singram Singh of Kharagpur in March, 1590 and was presented elephants and many other choice goods.<sup>25</sup>

The Raja returned to Patna in March, 1590. Soon he proceeded against Anant Cheros<sup>26</sup> of the Gaya District in the Province of Bihar and brought them under control.<sup>27</sup> Man Singh also subdued the Saiyyids of Sambhupuri of the Gaya District.<sup>28</sup> Local tradition also affirms that there was a severe fight between the Raja and some Muslim chiefs of the locality in which the Imperialists were victorious. The *Jaipur Vansawali* states that Raja Man Singh founded a new city on the other side of river Phalku (Phalgun) in Gaya town and named it "Manpur" or "the abode of Raja Man".<sup>29</sup>

The story of the contest between the Kachhwaha forces and the Muslim chiefs of Sambhupuri is further supported by circumstantial evidences. The Saiyyids, as the name indicates, were the Pathans and they often rose in revolt as a protest against the religious policy of Akbar and also to checkmate his expansionist policy in the eastern provinces. The Bengal revolt of 1580 was a burning example in its support. Gaya with its suburbs was then the stronghold of the Pathans.<sup>30</sup> It is quite possible that these powerful Muslim chiefs had revolted against the Mughal domination over Bihar and this forced Raja Man Singh to come in person to suppress the revolt.

Raja Man Singh next crushed the opposition of Raja Gajapat of Hajipur<sup>31</sup> and forced him to relinquish the chieftainship. The principality of Hajipur was annexed to the Mughal dominion.<sup>32</sup>

While the Raja was away suppressing the recalcitrant zamindars of Bihar, Kuar Jagat Singh, the eldest son of Man Singh, did a com-

<sup>23</sup> *Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangiri*, p. 489.

*Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, III, p. 872.

*Ekbalnama-i-Akbari*, (Persian MS), p. 304

*Maasir-ul-umara*, translated by H. Beveridge, II, p. 50.

<sup>24</sup> *Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangiri*, p. 489(b).

<sup>25</sup> *Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, III, p. 872.

<sup>26</sup> The cheros were a Dravidian people and were said to have branched off from the Rajbhan tribe. They had once been the dominant clan in Bihar and being displaced by the Ujjainias, they migrated southward and are now to be found in the Palamau district in the State of Bihar.

. (Bengal Past and Present, Vol. XIV, SI, No. 127, Jan-Dec. 1944, p. 25).

<sup>27</sup> *Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, III, p. 872.

<sup>28</sup> Sambhupuri was quite close to the city of Gaya. It was situated on the other side of river Phalgun. (*Jaipur Vansawali*, pp. 41-42).

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>30</sup> Sherghati, 20 miles west of Gaya city, was the chief centre of the Pathans. It was named after their leader, Shershah.

<sup>31</sup> Hajipur is a subdivision in the district of Muzaffarpur in North Bihar.

<sup>32</sup> *J. R. A. S., Bengal*, December, 1870, p. 306.

mendable thing. He defended Patna<sup>33</sup> against the heavy onslaughts of Bengal rebels. Sultan Quli Qalmaq and Kackena, two powerful *sardars*, advanced from Goraghpat in Bengal and plundered the territories of Tajpur<sup>34</sup> and Purnea<sup>35</sup> and invested the city of Darbhanga.<sup>36</sup> Farrukh Khan, the chief fief-holder of Darbhanga, found himself altogether powerless to resist the invaders. He fled to Patna and took shelter under the banner of the Kachhwaha prince. The situation was rather critical. Raja Man Singh was engaged at the time in rooting out disaffection in southern Bihar. The defence of northern Bihar was entrusted to the young Kuar. Kuar Jagat Singh faced the situation with tact and vigour. He marched from Patna with a strong contingent against the invaders and when he came within fourteen miles of Hajipur, the Bengal rebels lost heart and fled away leaving behind much booty. The Raja on his return was pleased to hear of the valiant deeds of his young son, who was aged only 22 years.<sup>37</sup> Raja Man Singh sent to the Emperor at Lahore a comprehensive report of the successful resistance of the Bengal invaders along with a portion of the booty which consisted of 54 elephants besides other valuable articles.<sup>38</sup>

The vigorous policy that was pursued by Raja Man Singh in the province of Bihar had its rewards. The rebellion was crushed, peace and amity established and Mughal authority was felt everywhere in the *Subah*. Having established order in Bihar, Raja Man Singh next turned his attention towards the subjugation of the adjoining territories of Orissa. Though during the governorship of Munim Khan and subsequent Mughal governors, Orissa had become a nominal province of the Empire but the Mughals had not been able to establish their hold firmly on the province. The Afghans rose in frequent revolts and thus often disturbed the peace of the territories. Ever since the death of Daud Khan in 1583, Qutlu Khan, the Afghan leader, was the virtual ruler of Orissa. In spite of Qutlu Khan's defeat at the hands of Sadiq Khan, the governor of Bengal, the Afghan chief was far from being subdued and he continued his depredations as before which forced the Bengal governor to conclude a treaty of peace with Qutlu Khan. By this treaty between Sadiq Khan and Qutlu Khan, Orissa was relinquished to the Afghans on condition that they should retire from Bengal and become the tributary vassals of the Mughal Emperor. Thus Orissa was virtually

<sup>33</sup> Patna is the capital of the State of Bihar.

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These are important districts in North Bihar.

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under the control of the Afghans headed by Qutlu Khan when Raja Man Singh turned his attention towards its conquest.<sup>39</sup>

Man Singh's attention was riveted on Orissa because peace and order could not be maintained on a sound footing in Bihar unless order was ensured in the adjoining province also, which had been the abode of the rebellious Afghans. The Raja had enough experience of the mischievous exploits of the Afghans in the north-west frontier regions of India and it was with this knowledge, of their manners and habits, that he undertook an expedition for the conquest of Orissa in April, 1590.<sup>40</sup>

Raja Man Singh on his way to Orissa halted near Bhagalpur and requested Said Khan, the governor of Bengal, to join him in his expedition. Said Khan did not go in person but sent Pahar Khan, Babu-i-Mankali, Rai Patr Das along with artillery to join the forces of Raja Man Singh.<sup>41</sup> The Raja's forces encamped at Jehamabad (now named Arambagh in the west of the Hooghly district)<sup>42</sup> on account of the setting in of the rains. There was another reason for the halt of the Raja there. He hoped that Saiyyid Makhsus and other sief holders of Bengal would also join him in the meantime. Qutlu Khan, the Afghan leader, despatched a large force under Bahadur Kurah to the fort of Raipur, some fifty miles west of the imperial camp.<sup>43</sup>

Raja Man Singh sent his eldest son, Jagat Singh, with a strong contingent to subdue the Afghans under Bahadur Kurah. The Kachhwaha prince did not appreciate the danger properly and gave himself up to drinking and merry-making to the utter neglect of his business. In the meantime, Bahadur Kurah appealed to Qutlu for re-inforcement. The vanguard of Jagat Singh was attacked by a large Afghan army and was defeated. The Kuar did not take any serious notice of the defeat and idled away his time in drinking and revelry. Hammir, the land-holder, had forewarned Jagat Singh about the approach of the reinforcement, but the Kuar did not pay requisite attention to it. In the meantime, the reinforcement came under the command of Khwaja Isa Wakil and Umar. The Kuar was induced to send some spies to watch the movement of the Afghan army. The spies wrongly reported that the Afghans had encamped in a jungle nearby and this made the Kuar a little careless because

<sup>39</sup> Beam, John, *Notes on the History of Orissa*, J.R.A.S. Bengal, Vol. LII, Part I, 1888, 236.

<sup>40</sup> Akbarnama, translated by H. Beveridge, III, p. 878.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid, pp. 878-79.

<sup>42</sup> Sarkar, J. N., *History of Bengal*, p. 208 (published by Dacca University).

<sup>43</sup> Akbarnama, translated by H. Beveridge, III, p. 879.  
*Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangiri*, p. 490.

he did not apprehend an immediate attack. But the real fact was that the Afghan army had entered the forest and having left their tent and belongings there, had silently marched on towards the Kuar's camp through secret ways. The imperial army was attacked unawares. Most of the soldiers of the Kuar fled away without fighting. A few took courage and fought very hard. Bika Rathor, Mahesh Das and Narucharan on the side of the Imperialists were killed. The Kuar's army was badly defeated. Hammir, the land-holder, brought the Kuar to his camp and took him to Vishnupur (in Bankura district of Bengal), which was his territory. A rumour spread that the Kuar was killed. This made Raja Man Singh very furious.<sup>44</sup>

Raja Man Singh immediately held a council in order to chalk out the future line of action. A majority of the councillors were of the opinion that the imperial army should return to Salimabad where the family of the soldiers were stationed and from there they should prepare for the battle. Raja Man Singh did not accept this cowardly advice and resolved upon fighting. But this fight was not destined to take place. After a few days, Qutlu died of illness in August, 1590 and this bewildered the Afghans.<sup>45</sup> They now became anxious to patch up peace with the Raja's army.

Khwaja Isa, the wakil of the late Afghan leader, made Nasir, the successor to Qutlu Khan and opened negotiations for peace with Raja Man Singh. Consequently an agreement was signed in August, 1590. By this agreement, it was decided that the Afghans would read the *Khutba* and strike the coins in the name of the Emperor and they would be loyal to the Mughal sovereign. The Afghans also ceded the temple of Jagannath at Puri along with the surrounding districts to the Mughal Emperor. On 15th August, 1590, Nasir, the new Afghan king, came to pay homage to Raja Man Singh and presented 150 elephants and other choice articles. The Raja accepted the presents and gave valuable instructions to the boy-king. Man Singh was much pleased at rescuing the holy city of Jagannath from the hands of the turbulent Afghans who had long exercised a cruel and tyrannous sway over the priests. The Raja having vanquished the rebellious Afghans of Orissa returned to Bihar in September, 1590.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>44</sup> *Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, III, p. 879.  
*Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangiri*, p. 491

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>46</sup> *Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangiri*, p. 491.

*Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, III, p. 879-80.  
*Khulasat-ul-Tawarikh*, p. 370(b).

*Iqbalnamah-i-Akbari*, Volume V, p. 307.

Beams, John, *Notes on History of Orissa*, J. R. A. S. Bengal, Vol. I.II. 1883, p. 236.

So long as Isa Khan, the Wakil of the late Qutlu Khan, was alive, he maintained good relations with Raja Man. After his death, the sons of Qutlu—Khwaja Usman and Khwaja Sulaiman—violated the treaty, seized the temple of Jagannath and attacked Raja Hammir of Vishnupur. The Afghans were angry because Raja Hammir had sheltered Jagat Singh, the son of Man Singh, after his defeat at their hands in 1590 and had ever remained loyal to the Mughal Emperor. Man Singh was furious at the violation of the treaty and sought the permission of the Emperor to march against them. The permission was duly given and he made preparations to crush the rebellious Afghans.<sup>44</sup>

Raja Man Singh left Bihar on 3rd November, 1591, and proceeded towards Orissa in two divisions. The Raja himself went by the Ganges route. Tolak Khan, Farrukh Khan, Ghazi Khan and Bhopat Singh went by land. This force was accompanied by the local zamindars of Bihar named Puranmal of Gidhaur and Rupnarayan Sisodia.<sup>45</sup> Mr. H. Blochmann writes that Madho Singh and Lakshmi Rai of Kokrah (as Chotanagpur in Bihar was then called) also served in the detachment commanded by Yusuf Khan Kashmiri, the ex-ruler of Kashmir,<sup>46</sup> who was a subordinate officer under Raja Man Singh. This army was further re-inforced by the forces of Said Khan, the governor of Bengal, and his brother, Makhsus Khan. The Imperialists conquered the Province of Orissa up to Jaleshwar. The Afghans tried to befool the Raja's army by opening negotiations for peace. The Raja was shrewd enough not to be deluded by their trickery.<sup>47</sup> When the Afghans saw that the Raja's forces were preparing for war, they also made preparations to meet the Imperialists in open field.

Both the armies organized themselves in the then prevailing order. Raja Man Singh remained in the centre. On his right wing were Rai Bhoj, Raja Sangram Singh and Baqir Khan, while on his left were Tolak Khan and Farrukh Khan. In the vanguard were Durjan Singh, Sujan Singh, Sabal Singh, Nuram Koka and Mir Qasim Badakshi. In the rear were Maksus Khan and Abdul Halim. In the same way, the centre of the Afghan army was commanded by Nasib Khan, Jamal Khan, Dilawar Khan, Allahdad Khan and Habib Khan. The right wing was under the control of Jalal Khan, Tatar Khan Ghazi, Mubarak Khan, Khwaja Wais and the left was led by

<sup>44</sup> "Akbarnama, translated by H. Beveridge, III, p. 934.

<sup>45</sup> Maasir-ul-umara, translated by H. Beveridge, II, p. 297.

<sup>46</sup> "Akbarnama, translated by H. Beveridge, III, pp. 934-35.

<sup>47</sup> J. R. A. S., Bengal, Vol. XL, p. 113, Part I, 1871.

<sup>48</sup> Akbarnama, translated by H. Beveridge, III, pp. 931-935.

Bahadur Kurrah, Sher Khan Lohani and Habib Khan while Khwaja Sulaiman, Usman and Isa Khan formed the vanguard.<sup>51</sup>

Skirmishes took place daily but open conflict was avoided. Raja Man Singh sent off his vanguard to take a position of vantage near the enemy and build a fort there. He thought that if the Afghans meant to fight, they would at once declare war and the Raja's forces would join the vanguard. The Afghans were astonished at the erection of the fort, drew up their army and crossed the river *Suvarnarekha*.<sup>52</sup>

In a short time the two forces met. At first the forceful attack of the Afghans threatened the defeat of the Imperialists. But the timely help from the rearguard not only saved the Mughal forces but enabled them to win success. The rear was led by Khwaja Abdul Halim who advanced along with his contingent at the most critical time, when the Imperialists were on the point of giving way. The Mughal artillery and the archers wrought havoc among the Afghans and their elephants on whom they counted a good deal. *Miyan Lohari*, the chief elephant of the Afghans, was captured. Khwaja Wais along with other Afghan generals fell fighting. The Afghans were routed and they fled from the battle-field. The casualties on the side of the Afghans and the Imperialists numbered 300 and 400 respectively.<sup>53</sup>

Raja Man Singh pursued the enemy and arrived at Jaleshwari in July, 1592. *Khutba* was read and coins were struck in the name of the Mughal Emperor. The Afghans retreated and Man Singh continued to advance further south into Orissa "digging up the root of disaffection and accepting the submission of the local zamindars."<sup>54</sup> Said Khan, probably out of jealousy, did not accompany the Raja any further and he returned to Bengal in spite of the repeated requests of Man Singh to stay on for some time more. However, Pahar Khan, Babui Mankli, Baqar Khan, Mir Ghani and Baqar Ansari of the Bengal army remained with the Kachhwaha Raja.<sup>55</sup>

In the meantime, the Raja was informed that Sarangarh,<sup>56</sup> a fort of Ramchandra of Khurda, had gone into the possession of the Afghans. Raja Man Singh at once proceeded to free the fort from the control of the Afghans which fell without any fight.<sup>57</sup> Usman Khan and his Afghan army were utterly routed. The *Vansawali*

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>52</sup> *Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, III, pp. 934-37.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 936-40.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>56</sup> Sarangarh is three miles south of Cuttack.

<sup>57</sup> *Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, III, p. 941.

states that Usman Khan, a nephew of Qutlu Khan, fought with Raja Man Singh against the advice of her mother who counselled her son not to pick quarrels with the Kachhwaha Raja.<sup>58</sup>

The success of Raja Man Singh over the forces of Usman Khan, a powerful Afghan leader, considerably raised the prestige of the Raja and had the effect of making other Afghan rebels surrender to him. Alwal Khan, the Khaqsal of Qutlu, Raja of Tila and other Afghans sought the protection of the Mughal governor. But there were some powerful landlords of Orissa, Raja Ramchandra of Khurda being one of them, who did not submit to the Mughal authority. This excited the wrath of Raja Man Singh who invested Sarangarh, the stronghold of the Khurda Raja, and forced him to sue for peace. In June, 1592, Raja Ramchandra accepted the domination of the Mughals. Birbal, the son of the Khurda Raja, waited on Raja Man Singh with valuable presents.<sup>59</sup>

In June, 1592, Raja Man Singh visited the holy city of Jagannathpuri and paid his obeisance to the famous shrine.<sup>60</sup>

The troubles from the side of the Afghans were not yet over. Habib Khan, Darya Khan, Sujawal Khan, Mewa Khan and other Afghan *Sardars* had wrested the town of Jaleshwar from the Mughal Fauzdar, Babui Manuli, and were thinking of creating further troubles for the Bihar governor. The Raja took prompt action to nip the evil in the bud. He despatched Pahar Khan with a strong contingent, the latter conquered the town of Jaleshwar and re-established the Mughal authority in that region.<sup>61</sup> From this time onward Jaleshwar remained under the Mughal suzerainty and did not come into prominence till the time of the Maratha invasion during the period of the later Mughals.<sup>62</sup>

Raja Man Singh was not satisfied with the formal submission of Raja Ramchandra of Khurda. He wanted the active co-operation and the personal attendance of the Khurda Raja but the latter was not amenable to this. Hence, the Kachhwaha Raja sent an army under Kuar Jagat Singh, Mir Sharif Sarmadi, Mir Qasim Badakshi and Mahmud Beg Shamlu to bring the Raja of Khurda in person to the camp. The Imperialists captured many of the fortresses of Raja Ramchandra, e.g. Sahahpal, Kharagarh, Kulapara, Kahnan, Longarh and Bhanmal. They ultimately besieged the fort of Khurda, which drove Raja Ramchandra to shut himself up in the fort.<sup>63</sup>

<sup>58</sup> *Pansawali* in the State Archives of Jaipur, p. 42.

<sup>59</sup> *Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, III, p. 941.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>62</sup> *Bengal District Gazetteer, Jaleshwar*, p. 220. (published in 1907).

<sup>63</sup> *Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, III, p. 967.

(When the news of the siege of Khurda reached the ears of Emperor Akbar, he strongly disapproved of this expedition of his Bihar governor. He censured Man Singh for it and at his command, the siege was raised. The kind gesture shown by Akbar brought Raja Ramchandra to his senses. He personally came to pay his homage to the Kachhwaha Raja in January, 1592. Man Singh was pleased at the formal attendance of Raja Ramchandra and showered many favours on him.<sup>64</sup>)

By 1592, the Mughal suzerainty over Orissa was fully established. It became a regular province of the Empire.<sup>65</sup> The temple of Jagannath with its full establishment has since been under the Raja of Khurda, later on known as Raja of Puri. The connection of the Raja of Khurda with the temple dates back to the time of Raja Man Singh who in 1592 finally conquered Orissa and selected the then Raja of Khurda, Raja Ram Chandra Deva, as the Superintendent of the temple. Raja Ram Chandra's descendants have continued to manage the temple since then.<sup>66</sup>

The *Vansawali* states that Raja Man Singh constructed a temple for the main deity of Jagannath. It further mentions that thousands of Afghans were killed in the battle waged by Raja Man Singh for the conquest of Orissa. Having vanquished the Afghans, the Kachhwaha Raja washed his blood-stained sword in the water of the sea at Puri with the result that it became saline and bitter, though formerly when Raja Ramchandra of Ayodhya of epic fame had attacked *Lanka* (Ceylon) the water of the sea was sweet. The text of the *Vansawali* is as follows :

دو زمان سابق کہ رامچندر بھر لکھ سوار شد ہ بود ...  
 آب سندھ، شیرین بود از وقتیکہ راجہ مان سنگھ شمشیر خود ر  
 دراں دریا شوئیدہ است د هزاران افغانان را بجان کشته  
 است آب سندھ، تلخ د شوریہ گردید ...<sup>67</sup>

The story of the formal installation of the main deity of Jagannath in the temple at Puri has also been mentioned in *Kachhwaha's Vansawali*. There is also reference in it to the washing of the sword

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 967-68.

<sup>65</sup> *Raudal Tahirin*, (Persian MS), p. 305.

*Haqiqath-i-Hindustan*, p. 295.

*Bengal District Gazetteer, Balasore*, p. 28. (published in 1907).

<sup>66</sup> *Bengal District Gazetteer, Puri*, p. 111, (published in 1908).

<sup>67</sup> *Vansawali* in the State Archives of Jaipur, p. 43.

in the saline water of the sea by Raja Man Singh,<sup>7</sup> as we have seen above.

The Kachhwaha ruler knew very well the inherent characteristics of the Afghans, viz., treachery and faithlessness whenever an opportunity presented itself. This knowledge was based on his experiences with the Afghans in Kabul and the north-west frontier regions of India. Hence, at first, he thought of removing the Afghans completely from Orissa. Consequently the Raja gave Khwaja Sulaiman, Khwaja Usman, Sher Khan and Haibat Khan his in Faridpur district of Eastern Bengal. Besides, the Raja asked Tahir Khan and Khwaja Baqir Ansari to escort the Afghans to their hills in eastern Bengal. The Afghans were already on their way to eastern Bengal, then on second thoughts Raja Man Singh came to the conclusion that it was quite unsafe to keep the Afghans in eastern Bengal, which was quite close to the border of Orissa where they had many friends and admirers. Therefore, he cancelled the former arrangement and wrote letters to the Afghans asking them to report themselves to his camp immediately.<sup>8</sup>

The cancellation of the order and their recall made the Afghans highly suspicious of the designs of the Raja and they rose in rebellion. Pahar Khan, Tolak Khan, Farakhi Khan and other Bengal officers of Said Khan tried to suppress the Afghan rising but they failed. The Afghans went on plundering and looting and ultimately reached Satgaon but there they were repulsed and hence they turned towards Bhushna (in the Jessor district). Raja Man Singh sent his son, Hinnat Singh, but he also failed in his mission and turned back.<sup>9</sup>

When the Afghans led by Dilawar Khan, Sulaiman Khan and Usman Khan came within eight miles of Bhushna, Chand Rai, the Bhushna zamindar, at the suggestion of his father, pretended to play the role of a host. Dilawar and Sulaiman came and stayed within the fort and they were received with great cordiality. When Dilawar came out of his guest room, he was seized by Chand Rai's men. This made Sulaiman suspicious and he fought his way out of the fort and galloped on a horse to his quarters. Chand Rai followed him with a small force in which most of the soldiers were Afghans. They betrayed the cause of their master resulting in the defeat and death

“ “जगनायजी न केर विभू विधान सो स्थापन कोना ।  
पाही समूद्र मैं जाय पाओ पायारयो ॥”

*Kachhwaha's Tansarakh*, p. 46(b).

<sup>7</sup> *Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, III, p. 968.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

of Chand Rai at the hands of the Afghan rebels. The Afghans now seized the fort of Bhushna. After that, these rebel leaders hastened to join Isa Khan, *Masnad-i-ala*, the greatest of the Bengal zamindars who ruled over the Dacca district. Thus the Afghans suppressed in Orissa found a new channel of strength in eastern Bengal.<sup>71</sup>

Raja Man Singh had freed Orissa from the depredations of the Afghans who had now taken shelter in eastern Bengal. The incessant warfare against the Afghan rebels had completely exhausted Raja Man Singh who needed rest very badly. Moreover, the fort of Rohtas in the South Bihar was under thorough repairs<sup>72</sup> and it required a little supervision by the Kachhwaha Raja. Hence Raja Man Singh visited the fort of Rohtas and stayed there for a few months resting and relaxing. He next proceeded to Lahore in February, 1594 to pay his respects to Akbar who was then in the Punjab. Raja Man Singh was received with great honour by Prince Salim at Lahore. On 23rd February, 1594 he was presented before the Emperor along with some important nobles of Orissa, viz., Nasib Lodi, Jaimal, Kashi Pandey and Purushottam.<sup>73</sup>

The Kachhwaha Raja had spent over five years in Bihar and he had rendered valuable services to the Emperor during his stay in the Province. Raja Man Singh was, therefore, rewarded with the governorship of the *Subah* of Bengal in March, 1594 in place of Said Khan who was transferred to Bihar. The Raja and other Kachhwaha chiefs received their fiefs in Bengal.<sup>74</sup> Thus ended the glorious regime of Raja Man Singh in the Province of Bihar.

<sup>71</sup> *Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, III, p. 969.

<sup>72</sup> Raja Man Singh constructed a beautiful palace there.

<sup>73</sup> *Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, III, p. 997.

*Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangiri*, p. 522.

<sup>74</sup> *Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, III, p. 999.

## CHAPTER VII

### RAJA MAN SINGH AS THE GOVERNOR OF BENGAL

On the 4th of May, 1594, Raja Man Singh left for Bengal to join his post as the governor of the province. Emperor Akbar gave him many wise counsels to be followed in the administration of the *Subah* and other related matters.<sup>1</sup>

Raja Man Singh, on reaching Tanda,<sup>2</sup> found the condition of the province hopelessly deplorable. The Mughal suzerainty was seriously threatened on account of the conspiracies and depredations of the Afghans who had spread themselves throughout the nook and corner of Bengal. The marshy lands near the Bay of Bengal, the jungles of the Sundarban and the hills round about afforded a suitable place to the rebel Afghans where they planned their expeditions and hatched their plots for the overthrow of the Mughal rule in Bengal. The Afghans were much discontented on account of their territories being expropriated by the Imperialists in the wake of the Mughal expansion. Those who did not submit to the Mughal rule also came over to Bengal and swelled the rank of the malcontents and the recalcitrants. Besides, those Afghans who had been driven out of Bihar and Orissa took shelter in Bengal and were eagerly waiting for an opportunity to rebel in order to feed fat their ancient grudge. Thus, due to the mischievous activities and the machinations of the Afghans, the province of Bengal had become "Afghanistan in Hindustan."

Raja Man Singh was not in the least perturbed by the hopeless state of affairs in Bengal; on the contrary, he proceeded boldly to set the province in order. He was quite convinced that his greatest enemies were the Afghans and their suppression was a *sine qua non* to the establishment of a stable government in Bengal. But he was equally conscious of the disadvantages besetting Tanda as a base of operations against the rebels. Most of the Afghans had retired to the Eastern and Southern Bengal from where they carried on their operations against the Imperialists. Tanda did not afford a convenient base for military expeditions against the Afghans of the eastern region.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, there were other reasons also for Raja Man Singh's disliking the capital. Tanda had become unhealthy because of the fact that the river Ganges had moved away from the city. This

<sup>1</sup> *Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, III, p. 1001.

<sup>2</sup> Capital of the then Bengal.

<sup>3</sup> *Bengal District Gazetteer*, Malda, p. 22, (published in 1918).

fact was noticed by Ralph Fitch in 1588 when he visited the capital and found that the river had receded so far westward that Tanda stood a league from it.<sup>4</sup> Further, the city had lost its former glamour on account of an epidemic which visited Tanda in 1575 and decimated its population.<sup>5</sup>

For all these considerations Raja Man Singh decided to change the capital of the *subah* of Bengal and set about thinking which would be a suitable place for it. His choice fell upon Akmahal, a *mahal* of the Sarkar Tanda, which had been previously considered as a suitable site for the metropolis of Bengal by the great Indo-Afghan ruler, Sher Shah, and also by Daud Khan, the last independent Afghan king of Bengal.<sup>6</sup>

Akmahal<sup>7</sup> was situated on the bank of the river Ganges and was protected by hills on one side. It provided a suitable base for military operations against the Afghans. Being located on the bank of the river, it served as a safe anchorage for the warships and merchant-ships. Besides, the salubrious climate of the place gave added charm. These considerations weighed with Raja Man Singh in the selection of the new capital. Therefore, he removed the seat of Government from Tanda to Akmahal in November, 1595, and changed its name to Akbarnagar. He built a palace for himself and also erected a strong rampart, strengthened with bastions, which encircled the city.<sup>8</sup> He opened a mint there and silver, copper and gold coins were issued from this place.<sup>9</sup> A rupee of Akbarnagar mint dated 50th year of Akbar's reign is reported from Lucknow museum.<sup>10</sup> Akmahal continued to be the capital during Man Singh's time and also during the time of his successor Shaikh Khubaalias Kutbu-d-din Khan-i-chisti.<sup>11</sup>

With the new capital in Akbarnagar, Raja Man Singh now decided to suppress the Afghan rebels of eastern Bengal who were a source of perpetual trouble to the Bengal governor. In December, 1595,

<sup>4</sup> *J. R. A. S., Bengal*, Vol. V, No. 7, July, 1909.

<sup>5</sup> *Santhal Pargana Gazetteer*, p. 31.

<sup>6</sup> *Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, III, p. 1042.

*Maasir-ul-umara*, translated by H. Beveridge, II, p. 53.

Salim, Ghulam Husain : *Riyazu-s-salatin*, translated by Abdus Salam, p. 45 (footnote).

*Santhal Parganas Gazetteer*, p. 31.

<sup>7</sup> Akmahal is now called Rajmahal. It is in the district of Santhal Parganas in the State of Bihar.

<sup>8</sup> *Santhal Parganas Gazetteer*, p. 31.

<sup>9</sup> *Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, III, p. 1042.

*J. R. A. S., Bengal*, Vol. V, No. 7, July, 1909.

*Santhal Parganas Gazetteer*, p. 31.

<sup>10</sup> *J. R. A. S., Bengal*, Vol. V, No. 7, July, 1909.

<sup>11</sup> Islam Khan removed the capital from Raimahal to Dacca in 1612. This was done in order to check and subdue the Afghan remnants under Usman as well as the Arakanese and Portuguese buccaneers. (*J.R.A.S. Bengal*, July, 1909).

the Raja marched against Isa Khan, the most prominent land-lord of Dacca. The Afghans were overawed by the superior strength of the Mughal army. They allowed the Imperialists to capture the territories on the other side of the river Brahmaputra unopposed.<sup>12</sup> In the meantime the winter monsoon set in and Raja Man Singh decided to stay at Sharpur Herra in Mymensingh District in eastern Bengal. The Raja also thought it politically expedient to build a fort there which might serve as a military outpost of the Mughals in that region. He, therefore, built a fort there which came to be known as Salimnagar after the name of Salim, the eldest son of Akbar.<sup>13</sup>

Raja Man Singh was busy extirpating the Afghans of the eastern Bengal and in the meantime, owing to the neglect of the Mughal faujdar, the fort of Bhushna had been conquered by the Afghans headed by Sulaiman and Kedar Rai. On the 20th June, 1596, Raja Man Singh sent an army under his son, Durjan Singh to recapture the fort. When the Afghan leaders heard of the approach of the Imperialists, they strengthened the fort and prepared themselves for the fight. Durjan Singh came with his army and besieged the fort. Skirmishes took place every day and the Afghans did not dare to come to an open fight. But in the meantime Providence came to the rescue of the Mughal force. A gun burst inside the fort and Sulaiman and many others were killed. Kedar Rai was wounded and he fled to take shelter under Isa Khan, the renowned Zamindar of Khizrpur.<sup>14</sup>

While Man Singh was camping at Ghoraghata (North Bengal) during the rainy season of 1596, he fell seriously ill. The illness was so severe that even experienced physicians lost hope of his life. Isa Khan, the *Masnad-i-Ala* of Khizrpur, thought of taking advantage of the illness of Raja Man Singh. He along with Masum Khan Kabuli and other Afghan rebels came within 24 miles of the camp of the Bengal governor. They came by boats but in the meantime the river level began to fall and the Afghan fleet was forced to hurry back downstream in order to save themselves from being stranded and captured by the Mughals. On his recovery, Raja Man Singh sent a strong contingent under his son, Himmat Singh, to chastize and punish the rebels. The Kachhwaha prince raided and devastated the territories of the Afghans in Mymensingh and forced them to take shelter in jungles nearby.<sup>15</sup>

Dr. James Wise, on the basis of manuscripts found in possession

<sup>12</sup> *Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, III, p. 1043.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1059

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1063,

of the families of the descendants of Isa Khan of Khizrpur, throws further light on the Mughal invasion against Isa Khan. He notes :

"When Man Singh invaded Bengal in about 1595, he advanced to Igarah-Sindur (Mymensingh) and besieged the garrison of the fort there. Isa Khan hastened to its relief but his troops were disaffected and refused to fight. He, however, challenged Man Singh to a single combat, stipulating that the survivor should receive peaceable possession of Bengal. Man Singh accepted the challenge and his condition but when Isa Khan rode to the lists, he recognized in his opponent a youngman, the son-in-law of the Raja. They fought and the latter was slain. Upbraiding Man Singh for his cowardice Isa Khan returned to his camp. Scarcely had he done so, when word was brought to him that Man Singh himself was in the field. He again mounted and galloped to the ground but refused to engage with his opponent until satisfied of his identity. Being assured that Man Singh was opposed to him, the combat began. In the first encounter Man Singh lost his sword. Isa Khan offered his own own but without accepting it Man Singh dismounted. His adversary did the same and challenged him to a wrestling bout. Instead of acceding to his wish, Man Singh, struck by the generosity and the chivalry of the man embraced him and claimed him as a friend. After entertaining Isa Khan, he loaded him with presents while taking leave of him.

"The behaviour of the Hindu Prince excited the disapprobation of many of his followers and the *Rani* was so indignant at his pusillanimous conduct that she vowed that she would never return to Court where he (Man Singh) would be put to death and she be made a widow. This domestic quarrel was, however, quelled by Isa Khan who volunteered to return with Man Singh to Agra and trust to the magnanimity of the Emperor for pardon.

"On their arrival in Agra Isa Khan was thrown into prison but when the story of the combat at Igarah—Sindur was told, the Emperor ordered his immediate release, conferred on him the titles of 'Diwan' and *Masnad-i-Ala* (chief noble) and gave his a grant of numerous parganas of Bengal."<sup>16</sup>

The above-mentioned story is not corroborated by contemporary sources. The personal encounter between Raja Man Singh and Isa Khan cannot be ruled out but no contemporary sources assert that Isa Khan visited the Mughal or submitted to them. On the contrary, Abul Fazl writes that Isa Khan did never come to the imperial Court

<sup>16</sup> *J. R. A. S., Bengal, No. III, 1874, p. 197.*

for paying his respects to the Emperor. The Court historian opines : "Isa Khan had some share of prudence but from somnolence of fortune, he did not come to the Court."<sup>17</sup> Hence the assertion of Dr. Wise cannot be accepted in its entirety.

In 1596, Raja Man Singh brought the State of Cooch-Bihar under the sphere of Mughal influence. Cooch-Bihar was a very big State. It was ruled by Lakshmi Narayan who had at his disposal a powerful army, viz., 4000 cavalry, 2,00,000 infantry, 700 elephants and 1000 war-boats. The State had extensive territories—400 miles in length and 280 miles in breadth and it was thickly populated. But the internal dissensions in the royal family had greatly sapped the strength of the Raja of Cooch-Bihar. The throne of Cooch-Bihar was hotly contested by a rival claimant named Pat Kunwar who was a cousin of Lakshmi Narayan. Pat Kunwar, in order to strengthen his position, entered into an alliance with Isa Khan, the powerful zamindar of eastern Bengal. Lakshmi Narayan rightly felt that he had no chance of success in fighting the rebel prince and Isa Khan single-handed and turned for help to the only possible quarter—the Mughal Court. The Raja decided to acknowledge the formal supremacy of the Emperor Akbar in order to enlist his armed support against the formidable Cooch-Afghan combination. The Cooch-king approached the Bengal governor, Raja Man Singh, and arranged for a personal interview with him, with a view to tendering formal submission to the imperial authority. Consequently, Raja Man Singh marched from Salimnagar to Anandpur (a Cooch frontier town in the vicinity of Ghoraghat) where he was received by the Cooch Raja with great honour. Raja Lakshmi Narayan offered formal submission to the Mughal Emperor and this was accepted by the Bengal governor with good grace. The Cooch Raja was taken under the imperial protection and this brought great relief to him. The friendship between the Raja of Cooch-Bihar and the Kachhwaha Raja was further cemented by a matrimonial alliance. Raja Man Singh married Barbhavati,<sup>18</sup> or commonly known as Abla Devi, sister of Raja Lakshmi Narayan.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>17</sup> *Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, III, p. 1140.  
<sup>18</sup> *Kachhwaha's Pansawali*, (MS), p. 38.

<sup>19</sup> This marriage with a Bengali princess was not recognized as legal by the Kachhwahas of Amber, as a result of which the son that was born of this marriage, was not given the status of a Rajput prince. The Cooch princess acquired for her son the territories of Dhola and her son and his descendants were called Rao Saheb of Dhola. The Rao Saheb was a petty jagirdar in Rajasthan. In the battle of Maonda\*, three generations of this family were killed in one day while fighting against the Jats. A child of the family who also was present in the battle-field returned triumphantly and was, therefore, recognized as a peer of high status and purple blood. (On basis of information given to me by Dr. M. L. Sharma, M.A. D.Litt., Head of the Deptt. of History, University of Rajasthan, Jaipur.)

The conclusion of the Cooch-Mughal alliance gave much relief to Lakshmi Narayan but this excited the jealousy of Pat Kunwar, the rival claimant of the Cooch throne. Pat Kunwar collected an army and conquered some territories of Lakshmi Narayan without any difficulty. Much encouraged by his success, the rebel prince attacked the Cooch-ruler himself and pressed him so hard as to compel him to seek shelter in the Cooch-Bihar fortress. In his sad plight Lakshmi Narayan appealed for help to Raja Man Singh. The Bengal governor also looked upon this Cooch-Afghan alliance (between Pat Kunwar and Isa Khan) as a great political menace and he took the earliest opportunity to thwart it. He sent a chosen force under two Mughal officers named Jajjar Khan and Fateh Khan Sur which met Pat Kunwar in open engagement in May, 1597. In the fierce struggle that ensued, Pat Kunwar was defeated with great loss of men and materials. Lakshmi Narayan was greatly obliged to the Mughal army for the services rendered to him and plied them with many favours. The extension of the Mughal influence over Cooch-Bihar afforded a convenient base for strengthening the imperial authority over eastern Bengal.<sup>20</sup>

Soon Raja Man Singh had to bear a great loss in the death of his son named Himmat Singh. In March, 1597, Himmat Singh died of diarrhoea in Bengal. This son of Raja Man was a brave soldier and had shown his capabilities in several battles. This sad event greatly shocked Man Singh who was destined to face a series of misfortunes soon after. The Emperor, on hearing of the death of Himmat Singh, sent a message of condolence which gave some comfort to Raja Man Singh in his hours of distress.<sup>21</sup>

The disastrous defeat, sustained by Pat Kunwar at the hands of the Cooch-Mughal armies, served as an eye-opener to his Afghan ally, Isa Khan. Pre-occupied with his own affairs, he had failed to offer assistance to Pat Kunwar whose discomfiture greatly redounded to the growth of Mughal prestige and power in eastern Bengal. Isa Khan now hastened to make amends for his folly and got ready an army with which he was to go to the succour of Pat Kunwar. But this plan of the Afghan leader was greatly alarming to Raja Man Singh because it threatened to upset the Mughal power and prestige in the eastern Bengal and jeopardise the position of his vassal king—Raja Lakshmi Narayan. The combined forces of the rebel prince and Isa Khan conquered a large tract of the territories of Cooch-Bihar.

\* Maonda is sixty miles north of Jaipur. This battle took place on 14th December, 1567.

<sup>20</sup> Sarkar, J. N., *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, II, pp. 478-79, (published in 1934).

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1074.

The Cooch-Raja as usual became disheartened, appealed to Raja Man Singh for help and took shelter in a fort.<sup>22</sup>

Raja Man Singh at once got ready to face the invading army. He hit upon an ingenious device. This was to keep Isa Khan too busy near at home so that he might not give full attention to Cooch-Bihar expedition. A combined assault by land and water on his stronghold of Katrabu was accordingly made. This army was led by Durjan Singh, a son of Raja Man Singh. A discontented kinsman of Isa Khan offered to guide the Imperialists to the territories of the Afghan leader. A stubborn naval encounter took place in the vicinity of Katrabu (in Dacca) in September, 1597. Isa Khan aided by Masum Khan offered a heroic defence and ultimately scored a brilliant victory. The imperial commander, Durjan Singh, the leader of the invading army, was killed along with many others, while a large number of soldiers were taken prisoners.<sup>23</sup>

Raja Man Singh was much enraged at the discomfiture of the Mughal army and the death of his son. He made preparations to punish the Afghan rebels but the expedition did not take place. Isa Khan was well aware of the might of Raja Man Singh and he did not like to meet him in open encounter. He opened negotiations for peace with the Bengal governor. His overtures for peace were accepted by Raja Man Singh. Consequently the prisoners were released and the siege round the fort of Raja Lakshmi Narayan was raised.<sup>24</sup> Once more the Cooch Raja was saved from the peril of the attack of Cooch-Afghan allies and he could heave a sigh of relief. But the demise of his son, Durjan Singh, was a great blow to Raja Man Singh, specially because he had lost another son, Himmat Singh, in the course of the same year. He was, therefore, highly dissatisfied with the province of Bengal. Another important reason of his disgust was the unhealthy climate of the place. It has been said above that Himmat Singh died of diarrhoea, a common disease in Bengal. And he himself was taken dangerously ill in 1596. Therefore, he decided to leave Bengal for the time being. The death of Isa Khan in September, 1599 further facilitated the plan of Raja Man of leaving Bengal. Isa Khan was the most turbulent Afghan leader whom Raja Man Singh had to face. He was the craftiest and the ablest of all the contemporary Afghan chiefs of Bengal and it was at his hands that Durjan Singh, Raja Man Singh's son, mention of whom has been made above, was killed. The Raja heaved a sigh of relief at the death of Isa Khan since there was now no standing

<sup>22</sup> *Akbar-nama*, translated by H. Beveridge, III, p. 1093.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid*

menace in Bengal. He, therefore, decided to keep himself away from the province of Bengal for some time.

Raja Man Singh chose Ajmer as the place for his residence during the period of his rest. Ajmer was chosen because it was very close to Amber, his paternal State. The Raja was extremely busy with his conquests in Bengal and Bihar so that he could not give much attention to matters at home. Moreover, Ajmer commanded a central position in Rajasthan from where the Raja could feel the pulse of the whole of Rajputana and this also weighed with him when he took the final decision. Besides, the healthy and salubrious climate of Ajmer added further charm. But the most important reason for his decision to stay at Ajmer seems to be that the Raja wanted to remain near Agra to watch closely the development that was taking place in the imperial Capital. Moreover, Salim resided in Ajmer and was engaged in hatching conspiracies for his accession to the Mughal throne. For this reason too, Ajmer was chosen by Raja Man Singh in order that he might keep himself in close touch with the movement of the rebel prince. Further, it is possible that the selection of the place was made on the recommendation of Akbar himself who wanted the Kachhwaha Raja to keep an eye on Prince Salim. Over and above all these reasons, there was another important reason for the selection of Ajmer as his place of rest by Raja Man Singh. He was aware of the fact that Salim did not enjoy the confidence of his father and as such the Kachhwaha Raja thought the opportunity to be suitable for advancing the claims of his nephew, Khusrau, for the Mughal throne. For realizing this object, it was necessary for him to remain near Agra rather than be thrown out in far-off Bengal. All these considerations weighed with Raja Man Singh when he chose Ajmer as his place of sojourn in the summer of 1599.

But Raja Man Singh was not destined to enjoy a life of peace and harmony even in Ajmer. He appointed his eldest son, Kuar Jagat Singh, to act as his Deputy in Bengal and the arrangement was approved by Akbar. While the Kuar was making preparations to start for Bengal, he died of excessive drinking in October, 1599.<sup>25</sup> It was a very severe blow to the Kachhwaha Raja. Jagat was the eldest and the ablest of all the sons of Raja Man Singh. He was the crown prince—the first son by the chief wife of the Kachhwaha Raja named Rani Kanakawati. The death of the eldest son was most shocking to the Raja. Even Abul Fazl admits that the death of the crown prince threw the Kachhwaha Rajputs into consternation. The Court

<sup>25</sup> *Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, III, p. 1141.

*Maasir-ul-umara*, translated by H. Beveridge, II, p. 53.

historian writes : "Suddenly he (Jagat Singh) died and the Kachhwaha tribe was plunged into sorrow. Princely sympathy administered balm to the mourners".<sup>26</sup> Jagat Singh was a valiant warrior and had helped his father in many of his campaigns against the Afghans of the Frontier Provinces and also in Bihar and Bengal. He died at the age of 32.<sup>27</sup> Rani Kanakawati constructed a beautiful marble temple in memory of her son in the western corner of Amber.<sup>28</sup> This temple is a beautiful piece of architecture and is one of the most imposing buildings of Amber.

The broken-hearted Raja was in no mood to return to Bengal. He continued to remain in Ajmer and sent his grand-son, Maha Singh, (son of Jagat Singh) to deputise for him in Bengal under the guardianship of Pratap Singh, who was one of his brothers. Maha Singh was a young boy of 15 and he had hardly the age for undertaking such work of onerous responsibilities.<sup>29</sup>

Should Raja Man Singh be blamed for sending his tender-aged grand-son to Bengal—a place which was seething with discontent on account of the rebellion of the Afghans ? No doubt, the death of Isa Khan had made the Raja a little careless about the affairs of Bengal since he thought that no powerful leader was now left in that province to oppose the Imperialists. And apparently the Afghans of Bengal had, after the death of Isa Khan, submitted to the Mughal authority. Moreover, Maha Singh was sent under the able guardianship of Pratap Singh, a general of repute and sufficient experience.

But the Raja made the mistake of underestimating the strength of the Afghans. This looks rather surprising especially because the Raja had long and close contact with the Afghans both in Afghanistan and Bengal. He failed to realise the basic fact that the Afghans were a proud and brave people, ready to strike at the first opportunity to secure their former freedom. But the Raja should not be blamed for this. The death of three sons within a period of two years and especially that of the eldest, who was a great favourite, had left the Raja completely heart-broken and made him disinterested in the affairs of Bengal.

The Afghans of Bengal headed by Usman and Sajawal were closely watching the development in the province. When they saw that one of the ablest and most experienced generals like Raja Man Singh was being deputised by a tender-aged boy, they found it quite opportune to strike at the Mughal authority. They rose in open rebellion under Usman Khan, son of Qutlu Khan, against the im-

<sup>26</sup> *Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, III, p. 1141.

<sup>27</sup> Kachhwaha's *Vansawali*, p. 52.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 39 (b).

<sup>29</sup> *Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, III, p. 1151 (footnote).

perial domination over Bengal and seized some of the Mughal territories. Maha Singh, the Deputy Governor, faced the situation with determination and tact. In April, 1600, Maha Singh and Partab Singh advanced with a Mughal contingent to suppress the rebellion. A general engagement took place in the vicinity of Bhadrak in which the Imperialists were utterly routed. As a result of this Afghan victory, a large portion of Bengal went out of Mughal control. It seemed that the Mughal authority in Bengal was almost finished. This was a great blow to the Mughal prestige.<sup>30</sup>

Kuar Maha Singh and Partab Singh tried their level best to retrieve the lost prestige but to no purpose. They sustained several defeats at the hands of the Afghans. To add to the disgrace, one of the important imperial officers, Abdul Razzaq Mamuri—the paymaster general of the Bengal army—was captured by the Afghan rebels.<sup>31</sup> When the news of these reverses reached the ears of the Mughal Emperor, he at once ordered Raja Man Singh, then at Ajmer, to proceed immediately to Bengal.<sup>32</sup> Abul Fazl lamented the absence of the Raja from Bengal in the following words : "Rajah Man Singh ignorantly continued to have charge of Bengal while staying in the province of Ajmer. He thought the sedition-mongers there to be loyal and left them in that distant country to their own devices "<sup>33</sup>

In the meantime, events of far-reaching importance were taking place in Agra. By 1600 A. D., Prince Salim, who had attained the age of thirty-one, had become utterly weary of waiting for the ardently desired succession. His patience was all the more exhausted because the strong constitution of Akbar seemed to postpone indefinitely the close of his life. The Prince remained at Ajmer utterly disgusted and disconcerted. When Emperor Akbar ordered Raja Man Singh to proceed to Bengal to crush the Afghan rebellion, the Raja was in a fix. He did not like to leave Salim at Ajmer all along plotting and conspiring against the Emperor. He, therefore, advised the prince to accompany him to Bengal and help him in the suppression of the rebels there. The Raja was successful in taking the Prince as far as Allahabad but beyond it Salim had no wish to proceed.<sup>34</sup> Raja Man Singh much against his will left the Prince at Allahabad and himself proceeded towards Bengal.

<sup>30</sup> *Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, III, p. 1151.

*Maasir-ul-umara*, translated by H. Beveridge, II, p. 53.

J. R. A. S., Bengal, 1888, p. 3.

*Balasore Gazetteer*, p. 28.

<sup>31</sup> *Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, III, p. 1174.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1151.

<sup>34</sup> *Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, III, p. 1155.

The Raja at first went to his jagir at Rohtas and halted there for some time in order to equip a strong army to meet the rebels in Bengal. He then pushed on towards eastern Bengal to engage the Afghans in battle. He met the rebels at Sherpur Atai in Murshidabad district in February, 1601 and inflicted a crushing defeat on them. Mir Abdul Razak, the Mir Bakshi, was rescued from the clutches of the Afghans with a great difficulty. The poor Mir Bakshi had really a providential escape. He was placed on an elephant with hands and feet bound in iron chains and an Afghan was sitting nearby with instruction to kill the Mughal officer in case the Afghans were defeated. But fortunately for the Mughal officer, the Afghan guard was killed by a bullet and thus Mir Bakshi was saved.<sup>35</sup> The vanquished Afghans left the battle-field and fled away in the direction of Jessore. They were hotly pursued by Raja Man Singh who engaged them in another battle in Maheshpur near Jessore and utterly routed them. The rebels were completely subdued and they surrendered to the Mughal governor. They presented a large number of elephants to the imperial governor and promised to remain loyal to the Mughal authority.<sup>36</sup>

Prince Salim had halted at Allahabad not to relax but to rebel against the authority of his father. In 1601, he appropriated the revenue of Bihar, seized the imperial possessions from Kalpi to Hajipur and assumed the royal title.<sup>37</sup> Later on, better sense dawned upon the Prince and he sought forgiveness from his father. Akbar pardoned him and conferred upon him the government of Bengal and Orissa. An order was issued to Raja Man Singh that he should hand over the charge of the Province of Bengal to Prince's agent and himself come to the Court.<sup>38</sup> But Salim took no notice of his appointment to the Eastern Provinces and continued to remain at Allahabad. This attitude of the Prince was not appreciated by the Emperor and he revoked his order of recalling Raja Man Singh to the Court. Thus the Raja was allowed to remain in Bengal where he lived till 1604.<sup>39</sup>

The defeat of Usman Khan in 1600 did not bring permanent peace in the Province of Bengal. Local uprisings often took place which forced the imperial governor to take field against them. In 1601, Kedar Rai, the zamindar of Sripur (South Dacca) showed signs of disaffection but his rebellion was ruthlessly crushed by Raja Man Singh and Kedar Rai was forced to pay tribute to the Mughal general.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.* p. 1174.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.* p. 1180.

<sup>37</sup> *Balasore Gazetteer*, p. 28.

<sup>38</sup> Smith, V. A., *Akbar The Great Mogul*, p. 303.

<sup>39</sup> *Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, III, p. 1211.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*

Next, the Raja took steps to curb the powers of Jalal Khan, an Afghan rebel. This rebel used to loot the traders and the inhabitants of Malda and Akra districts of Bengal and had established a reign of terror in those regions. The Bengal Governor despatched his grandson, Maha Singh, to chastize and punish Jalal Khan.<sup>40</sup>

Immediately after the receipt of the order from Raja Man Singh, the Kachhwaha Prince marched against the rebel leader at the head of 5000 infantry and 500 cavalry. He was informed that the Afghans had taken shelter behind the Mandari (Mahananda) river in North-West of Malda City. The young prince gallantly forded the river on horse-back and ordered his soldiers to follow suit. About one hundred soldiers were drowned while attempting to cross the river but this did not deter Maha Singh from his mission. He attacked the rebel forces with great speed and gave them a crushing defeat.<sup>41</sup> This news of victory filled the heart of Raja Man Singh with a feeling of pride and joy and it gave some solace to his afflicted heart.

The Afghan rebellions in Bengal had their repercussions on the province of Bihar also. In 1602, Qazi Mumin, an Afghan, raised the standard of revolt against the Mughal authority in Bengal. The Qazi had built a strong fort on the bank of the river Kosi in North Bihar and he was very proud of it. He had also defeated an imperial army which was sent against him and this further whetted his pride. Raja Man Singh sent a detachment of 500 soldiers to crush the rebellion of the Qazi. The Afghan leader, on hearing of the approach of the imperial troops, fled to an island filled with thick jungles. The Mughal army pursued the rebels as far as that island, and engaged Mumin Khan in a fierce fight. The rebels were overwhelmed by the superior strength of the Mughal army. Qazi Mumin fell down from his horse and lost his life. The rebel army was defeated and the rebellion was stamped out from the district of Purnea in North Bihar.<sup>42</sup>

Traditions in Bengal affirm that Pratapaditya, the powerful king of Jessore, was also defeated by Raja Man. He maintained a powerful fleet at the head of which was a Portuguese admiral named Rodda. It is said that this Portuguese admiral had defeated the Mughal forces at the confluence of Adi Ganga and Bidyadhari near Jessore. Besides, the throne of Jessore was hotly contested by Kachu Rai, son of Basant Rai (who had been killed at the hands of Pratapaditya and whose throne had been usurped by the latter). Kachu Rai sought the help of Emperor Akbar for getting possession of the throne of Jessore. The Emperor directed his Bengal governor to crush Prata-

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1213.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1214.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*

paditya. Raja Man Singh was helped by Bhavanand Mazumdar, a discontented courtier of Pratapaditya, who escorted the imperial army by a secret route through the Sundarbans to Jessore. The Raja thus entered the capital and captured Pratapaditya who was sent as a prisoner to Agra. But on the way, at Banaras, he put an end to his life by swallowing some poison which he kept concealed in a ring. The State of Jessore was handed over to Kachu Rai, the real heir to the throne.<sup>43</sup>

It is strange that no contemporary Muslim historian has written anything about the defeat of Pratapaditya and the conquest of Jessore. But local traditions are eloquent about this event as it finds expression in the District Gazetteers of Khulna and 24 Parganas in Bengal. The Gazetteers are completely silent about the date of the battle but it can be safely assumed that this event occurred either at the end of the 16th century or immediately after the beginning of the 17th when Raja Man Singh was at the zenith of his power in Bengal.

Raja Man Singh was not yet free from the Afghan menace in Bengal. He learnt that Baz Bahadur Qalmaq, the Mughal Officer of Mymensingh, was driven out by Usman Khan, a powerful Afghan leader, who was the nephew of Qutlu Khan. The Kachhwaha Raja was further told that the imperial faujdar had gone in the direction of Bhaval.<sup>44</sup> Immediately after the receipt of information, Raja Man Singh marched from Dacca to Bhaval and reached the place on the following morning and engaged the Afghans in a fierce fight on the bank of the river Banar. The Afghans were utterly routed at the hands of the Imperialists and Mymensingh was recaptured. The outposts were strengthened and they were placed in charge of able men who might zealously safeguard the imperial interest. The fort of Mymensingh was again handed over to the care of Baz Bahadur. Raja Man Singh gave him many valuable instructions and himself returned to Dacca, which was the temporary headquarters of the Bengal governor.<sup>45</sup>

But Raja Man Singh was not fated to have peaceful time for long. He was informed that Isa Khan and Kedar Rai, the rulers of Vikrampur and Sarhanpur respectively, had joined the camp of Daud Khan, son of the late Isa Khan of Khizirpur, and the combined forces of the three rebel leaders were creating much trouble in the villages situated on the bank of river Ichhamati. The rebels held the banks of

<sup>43</sup> *District Gazetteers of Khulna and 24 Parganas*, 1950 & 1914 respectively.

<sup>44</sup> *Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, III, p. 1214.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*

*Takmila-i-Akbarnama*, Elliot, V, p. 106

the river under control and did not allow anybody to cross it. The Raja came from Dacca to Shahpur (in Sarkar Tejpur, a town ten miles north of Purnea) and sent a strong contingent to crush the rebels. But the Afghans did not permit them to cross the river Ichhamati and they remained stranded helplessly on the side of the river. The Raja sent a small contingent to help those who had gone ahead but they also met the same fate. When Raja Man Singh learnt that the reinforced army was not successful in its mission and lay stranded on the bank of river Ichhamati, he decided to march himself towards that region. He forded the river fearlessly on the back of an elephant and others followed suit.<sup>46</sup> The rebel Afghans could not withstand the lighting attack of the imperial governor and they fled from the battle-field. They were actively pursued by the Raja up to Mahuri and Tirah. Sher Khan, who was the chief of these territories, waited on Raja Man Singh with valuable presents. The Raja next proceeded to Sarhanpur and Vikrampur, the strongholds of Kedar Rai and Isa Khan respectively but to his utter disgust he found that these rebel leaders had withdrawn to Sonargaon. Raja Man Singh had no other alternative but to return to Dacca in July, 1602.<sup>47</sup>

The zamindar of the Magh (Arakanese or Burmese) country was very proud of his treasures and the number of elephants. He persuaded Kedar Rai, the zamindar of Sarhanpur to side with him. He then raised the standard of rebellion and besieged the fort of Parmohani. This fort was held by the imperial captain—Sultan Quli Qalmaq, Syed Muzaffar Khan and a number of others. The imperial captain bravely defended himself and eventually drove them away. Next, the imperial fleet marched against Ahmad, another rebel of eastern Bengal. In this combat, Sultan Quli Qalmaq was wounded and he fled from the battle-field. The Afghans thus emboldened advanced plundering many Mughal posts on the way. When Raja Man Singh came to know of the discomfiture of the Mughal captain, he at once sent Ibrahim Beg Atka, Raghu Das, Askaran, Dalpat Rai along with a strong contingent to crush the rebellion. The Mughal force inflicted a crushing defeat on the invaders on land and forced them to retire to their boats in the river. From the river, the rebels opened a hot fire of cannon and muskets and sank some of the gun-boats of the Imperialists. The Mughal army was not discouraged by their reverses and they set their artillery into action with greater vigour. They gained complete victory over the Afghan rebels. One hundred vessels of different kinds were captured in the middle of 1603.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>46</sup> *Takmila-i-Akbarnama*, Elliot, V, p. 106.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>48</sup> *Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, III, p. 1231.

-Kedar Rai was humbled but not completely crushed. He, with his powerful fleet of 500 vessels, besieged the *thana* of Srinagar held by Qilmak, the imperial *faujdar*. The battle was fought near Nagar Sur in which Kedar Rai was wounded and captured. When he was brought before Raja Man Singh, life had become extinct in him. After the defeat and death of Kedar Rai, Man Singh marched against Magh Raja from his base at Bhaval. But the Magh Raja dared not face Raja Man Singh in open conflict and fled away to his own country.<sup>49</sup>

Back to Bhaval, once again Raja Man Singh turned his attention against Usman, the powerful Afghan rebel. But the Afghan leader found himself too weak to meet the mighty governor and, therefore, he fled away to an unknown destination. Thus, the commotion in Bengal was completely quelled and the Raja's mind was set at rest. He committed the outposts to the charge of able men, and himself went to Dacca.

Raja Man Singh was terribly exhausted by relentless wars against the Afghans of Bengal. He was badly in need of rest. With the setting in of the monsoon in 1604, therefore, the Raja went to Nazipur which was a choice spot and a place centrally situated in Bengal for rest and relaxation.<sup>50</sup>

In August, 1604, Raja Man Singh was summoned from Bengal to lead an attack on Turan and the Raja visited the imperial capital but the expedition was not carried out and hence, he returned.<sup>51</sup>

In August, 1605, Raja Man Singh went to the imperial Court at Agra and paid homage to Akbar. He presented 1000 Mohars and Rs. 12,000 in cash besides a large number of elephants to the Emperor. The Emperor was highly pleased with Raja Man Singh for his glorious deeds in Bengal. Akbar realized the worth and merit of the Kachhwaha Raja and showered many favours on him. He conferred upon him the *mansab* of 7000 Zat and 6000 Sowars—an honour which was reserved for the princes of the blood royal and was never bestowed on a commoner so far. Raja Man Singh was also made the guardian of Prince Sultan Khusrau. Along with his grand-father, Maha Singh was also awarded the *mansab* of 2000 Zat and 300 Sowars.<sup>52</sup>

The advent of Raja Man Singh to the imperial Court at Agra in August, 1605, marks the culminating point in his long and successful career. He was at the height of his power and glory. After being raised to the *Saptazari mansab* he became at once the most dominant and powerful grandee of the imperial Court, and was an

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 1235-36.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid*, p. 1240.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid*, p. 1050.

<sup>52</sup> *Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, III, pp. 1256-57.

outstanding commander of the Mughal Empire. But by 1605, the Kachhwaha Raja's stars were also on the wane. May be it was due to the fact that he had changed his role from an imperial commander to that of the chief conspirator of the Mughal Court. In the new role, he was a dismal failure. Slowly and steadily the Raja was pushed to the back-ground and after the death of Akbar, he became a second-rate commander of the Mughal Empire.

## CHAPTER VIII

### RAJA MAN SINGH AND THE LAST DAYS OF AKBAR

At the beginning of 1605, Akbar suffered from a feeling of isolation and dejection since most of his trusted and beloved friends had been dead. Abul Fazl, the friend, philosopher and guide of the Emperor, had already been murdered on August 12, 1602,<sup>1</sup> Prince Daniyal, his beloved son, had died in Burhanpur on 11th March, 1605,<sup>2</sup> Hamida Bano Begum, alias Maryam Makani, his aged mother, had breathed her last on September 6, 1604.<sup>3</sup> The death of these near and dear ones made Emperor Akbar desperately lonely and, therefore, he summoned his trusted officers and friends to his side in Agra in the latter part of 1604. No wonder, when Raja Man Singh arrived at Agra in August, 1605, the Emperor did not permit him to leave him (Akbar) and thus the Raja continued to remain at Agra until Akbar's death.<sup>4</sup>

There were other important reasons for Raja Man Singh's stay in the Mughal Court. The Kachhwaha Raja was well aware of Akbar's feelings of deep disgust and antipathy towards his eldest son, Salim. He was conscious of the fact that the Emperor did not see eye to eye with his son and ever since the murder of his dearest friend, Abul Fazl, at the instigation of Prince Salim, the chasm between the father and the son was widening. Raja Man Singh did not want to lose this golden opportunity of espousing the cause of his nephew, Khusrau, for the imperial throne. He was not sitting idle but was earnestly making attempts in this direction for some time past. With a view to keeping Salim away from Agra so that he might not actively participate in the conspiracies against Akbar, he had successfully persuaded the Emperor to appoint the rebel Prince as the governor of Bengal with the instruction that he should take immediate steps to suppress the rebellion of the turbulent Afghans of that *Subah*.<sup>5</sup> In this way Raja Man Singh wanted to keep the Prince engaged in the plague spots of Bengal. But the whole plan of the Kachhwaha Raja met with a sad failure when Salim refused to stir out of Allahabad towards Bengal.<sup>6</sup> Raja Man Singh was not alone in his designs against Salim. He was actively

<sup>1</sup> Smith, V. A., *Akbar The Great Mogul*, p. 306.

<sup>2</sup> *Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, III, p. 1254.

<sup>3</sup> Smith, V. A., *Akbar The Great Mogul*, p. 317 (footnote).

<sup>4</sup> *Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, III, pp. 1256-61.

<sup>5</sup> *Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, III, p. 1155.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid*, p. 1256.

helped by Khan-i-Azam (Aziz Koka), the father-in-law of Khusrau and a powerful grandee of the Mughal Court, in his manoeuvrings to secure the Mughal throne for Khusrau.

Raja Man Singh had arrived in the imperial Court in August, 1605 and the Emperor fell ill on 22nd September, 1605.<sup>7</sup> Thus Man Singh got about two months' time to weave the web against Prince Salim's succession to the throne. In this he had the hearty co-operation of Khan-i-Azam. The two nobles got the news circulated that Akbar desired to be succeeded by his grand-son Khusrau rather than by his son Salim who was virtually in a state of rebellion for the last four years (i.e. since 1600). This was done with a view to ascertaining the public reaction to this proposal. It seems that there was some popular support for Khusrau on account of his charming personality and gentle and amiable nature. This is confirmed by Terry who met Prince Khusrau more than once. This foreign traveller observes :

"Khusrau was a gentleman of very lovely presence and fine carriage, so exceedingly beloved of the common people . . . he was a man who contented himself with one wife who with all love and care accompanied him in all his straits, and therefore, he would never take any wife but herself though the liberty of his religion did admit of plurality."<sup>8</sup>

Naturally, a prince having such an ideal character was bound to attract the devotion of the common populace of Agra in face of his father whose personal character was not so high.

The two grandees of the Mughal Court (Raja Man Singh and Khan-i-Azam) now proceeded to make Salim still more unpopular in the eyes of the Emperor. They tried to poison Akbar's mind against his eldest son. Heretofore Salim used to visit his father in the Court accompanied by a large number of followers. But this aroused the suspicion of the Emperor now and Salim was ordered to come to the imperial Court with four of his chosen men.<sup>9</sup> There is a strong presumption that the Kachhwaha Raja was responsible for the issue of such an order, so unbecoming to the aspirant to the throne. Be that as it may, this much is beyond doubt that Akbar's mind was not charitably disposed towards his son, who could not, therefore, expect any grace from the emperor.

On the 22nd of September, 1605,<sup>10</sup> Akbar was attacked with diarrhoea which ultimately ended in his death. The stage was now set for the final drama and the two conspirators began to weave the plot

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1259.

<sup>8</sup> Terry, p. 411, (1774 edition).

<sup>9</sup> Smith, V. A., *Akbar The Great Mogul*, p. 820.

<sup>10</sup> *Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, III, p. 1259.

round the death-bed of the Emperor. Colonel Tod has come out with a story that Akbar wanted to poison Raja Man Singh but poisoned himself instead by mistake, which resulted in the fatal disease. Tod claims his story to be based on the following versions of the "*Annals of Bundi*" :

"The Emperor had designs to take off the life of the great Raja Man by means of a poisoned confection formed into pills. To throw the Raja off his guard, he had prepared other pills which were innocuous but in his agitation, he unwittingly gave these to the Raja and swallowed those which were poisoned."<sup>11</sup>

The story sounds ludicrous. Raja Man Singh by then had been such a great favourite of Akbar that he was elevated to the coveted position of the *Sapthazari mansab*—an honour which was unprecedented in the history of the Mughals. Besides, the Kachhwaha Raja was the most faithful servant of the Emperor. He was the very bulwark of strength to him. Hence it is not understandable why the Emperor should have an evil design against his chief supporter. Neither did the Raja support the cause of the rebel Prince so as to wound the feelings of Akbar. On the contrary, Akbar knew it well that if Raja Man Singh had a weakness for anybody, it was for his nephew, Khusrau, as against Salim—an idea which must be very congenial to Akbar. Nothing warrants us, therefore, to believe that the story as given in Tod's *Rajasthan*, has any authenticity in it. However, De Laet, the Dutch compiler, says that the target of this design was not Man Singh but Mirza Ghazi Beg, the governor of Sind and Thatta. The Dutch writer also offers an explanation for the Emperor's design. He writes "The king gave orders some time afterwards that Mirza Gazia (Mirza Ghazi Beg), Governor of Sind and Tatta, should be made away with by poison on account of an arrogant boast which he had made."<sup>12</sup>

De Laet's information appears more plausible, and on this evidence too, we may well conclude that Raja Man Singh was far from the Emperor's mind when the poisonous pills were prepared. Hence Tod's version of the story can be safely overlooked.

Raja Man Singh and Khan-i-Azam at first tried to bring the Emperor under their complete control and with this end in view wanted to remove him from the imperial palace at Agra to the other side of the river Jamuna. When they failed in this attempt, they next attempted to get Khusrau adopted and declared as Emperor by

<sup>11</sup> Tod, Colonel, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, II, p. 285.

<sup>12</sup> De Laet, *The Empire of the Great Mogol*, translated by Hoyland and Banerjee, p. 170.

the ailing monarch. These sets of information have been given by Jahangir in his 'Memoirs'. He states :

"Both Mirza Koukah and Khossrou thus equally assured, the former suggested to Rajah Man Singh, that as there remained in the emperor scarcely a spark of life, it was evident that he would not be able to bear the motion of the *Sookpal*, (one of the varieties of litters) and that if he should happen to expire in the removal, a heavy responsibility would rest with someone or other of them : he must, therefore, caution him to be upon his guard, for that there was not the smallest necessity for conveying the sick monarch out of the castle of Agra. The argument seemed to have convinced the Rajah : nevertheless, watching the moment when my father should recover from a fit of delirium, he ventured to propose, that as the whole body of the people, collected under Shahzadah Seleim, were besieging the castle, if it were his pleasure it might be as well to remove for a few days to the other side of Jamunah ; and the moment his health was restored, he might return again without obstacle to his palace. The sick monarch demanded in reply, Why this has come to pass ? Surely they had not shut the gates of the castle in the face of the Shahzadah, and thus been the cause of his drawing the troops together ? With the assistance of some of his attendants, the emperor turned to the other side on his bed, and Mirza Aziz Koukah, on whose brows be now for ever placed the blushing (rosy) chaplet of falsehood, observing his master reposing in that condition, entered the chamber and making a sign with both hands, presumed to ask what were H. M's command with respect to Khossrau.

"To this the sick monarch replied, 'The decree is God's decree, and of Him alone is the sovereignty. For my own part, with one mind I retain a thousand hopes. Surely, in giving a loose to such language in my presence, you have abandoned me to the jaws of death. Nevertheless it may happen that I have still some portion left in this life. If, however, the awful crisis be at hand—if the hour of departure be arrived, can I have forgotten the military promptitude, political sagacity, and other qualities indispensable to the successful exercise of sovereign power, which at Allahabad I witnessed in Seleim Shah ? Neither do I find that the love and affection which I have ever borne him has for a moment been diminished. What if, through the misguid-

ings of the evil one, he should for an instant have been led astray from his filial duty, is he not my eldest born, and, as such, the heir to my throne : to that throne which by the institutes of my race belongs to the eldest son, and never descends to him who is the younger ? But the six months wide territory of Bengal I bestow upon Khosrau."<sup>13</sup>

If we closely study the above statement of Akbar as mentioned in 'Memoirs' we find that it is highly exaggerated and cannot be accepted in its entirety. In this statement, self-praise on the part of Jahangir is much in evidence. However, this has to be admitted that the deeply laid out scheme of Raja Man Singh to get Khusrau declared by the dying Emperor as his future successor met with failure.

The Kachhwaha Raja refused to be daunted by this failure and he in collusion with Khan-i-Azam took the next logical step of capturing and arresting Salim. Their main object in doing so was to remove the chief hurdle in the way of Khusrau's accession to the throne. Asad Beg, a contemporary Muslim historian, has given a graphic description of this attempt and its subsequent failure. He states :

" . . . During the Emperor's illness the weight of affairs fell upon the Khan-i-Azam, and when it became evident that the life of that illustrious sovereign was drawing to a close, he consulted Raja Man Singh, one of the principal nobles, and they agreed to make Sultan Khusrau Emperor. They were both versed in business and possessed of great power, and determined to seize the Prince (Salim), when he came, according to his daily custom, to pay respects at Court. . . .

"The next day that chosen one of Allah, not dreaming of the treachery of his foes, went, as was his wont, to pay his respects at Court, and entered a boat with several of his attendants. They had reached the foot of the tower, and were about to disembark, when Mir Ziau-l-Mulk of Kazwin arrived in great agitation, and jumped into the boat. He brought word of the hopeless state of the Emperor, and of the treachery and perfidy of those evil men. The boat returned, and His Royal Highness with weeping eyes and a sore heart, re-entered his private palace. . . .

"As soon as the Prince, following the advice of Mir Zia, had retired to his own palace, all the foolish people round him began to alarm him, saying, "Why does Your Highness

<sup>13</sup> Jahangir's Memoirs, translated by Major David Price, pp. 73-74, (London, 1829).

sit careless here ? Your enemies have completed their work and placed Sultan Khusrav on the throne, and declare that they will point the guns of the fort against this house." Their evil counsels were nearly taking effect upon the Prince, and he was about to order his private boats, to save himself by flight, when Shaikh Ruknu-d-din Rohilla, one of his best servants, who had a large body of followers, and was a man of known courage, came and besought him to compose himself, and wait for two hours to see what would happen."<sup>14</sup>

Salim laments over the whole incident in the following words :

"How deeply my feelings were agonized at the thoughts of being excluded from the sight of my father, during the period in which I thus abstained from entering the castle at Agra. I for some time withheld myself from communicating to any man, resigning myself entirely to the Will of God."<sup>15</sup>

Whatever might have been the feelings of Salim, one thing is apparent. He successfully eluded the snare of Raja Man Singh and thereby foiled his plan of seizing him (i.e: Salim). It must have partly shattered the Raja's dream of capturing the imperial throne for his nephew, Khusrav.

However, Raja Man Singh knew no defeat. He was still hopefull of realizing his aim. He adopted the only course left open to him, viz., to enlist the support of the powerful nobles of the Mughal Court.

With this end in view, Raja Man Singh in consultation with Khan-i-Azam decided to convene a meeting of the important nobles of the Court in one of the rooms of Agra fort. But the contemporary sources differ with regard to the timing of this convention of the nobles. De Laet tells us that the meeting of the nobles took place after the death of Akbar as he observes : "The king died 12 days later in the year of Mahumet 1014 A.H. after a most prosperous reign of 60 years. The chief Ommerau who were present at the king's deathbed shut all the gates of the fortress of Agra as soon as he was dead and set a faithful officer to guard each of them."<sup>16</sup> But Asad Beg and *Khyat of Patalpotha* affirm that the meeting took place at a time when the Emperor was counting his last moments.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>14</sup> *Wikaya-i-Asad Beg*, Elliot VI, pp. 169-71.

<sup>15</sup> *Jahangir's Memoirs*, translated by Major David Price, p. 72 (London, 1829).

<sup>16</sup> De Laet, *Empire of The Great Mogol*, translated by Hoyland and Banerjee, p. 171.

<sup>17</sup> *Khyat of Patalpotha*, (MS), copied from Jaipur records.

*Wikaya Asad Beg*, Elliot VI, p. 169.

In my opinion, the versions of Asad Beg and the *Khyat of Patalpota* are more convincing because in those medieval times when all powers were concentrated in the hands of an Emperor, it was feared that in case of disputed succession frightful consequences might ensue. Besides, after the death of the reigning monarch, there was a danger of the situation being aggravated and hence no peaceful deliberations could have taken place. This accounts for Raja Man Singh's anxiety that the question of succession be settled in favour of Khusrau before the Emperor expired.

The *Khyat of Patalpota* has given a vivid description of the deliberations of the meeting and also of the development that followed. The *Khyat* states :

"Raja Man Singh and Khan-i-Azam were formidable figures in the imperial Court and they were very anxious to secure the support of the important nobles of the Court in favour of Khusrau. With this end in view, Khan-i-Azam addressed an appeal to the nobles who were sitting in a hall adjacent to the chamber where the Emperor lay dying. The nobles present were Sayyid Khan Barha, Mirza Shariff, Muttamad Khan, Farid Khan, Shekhawat Raisal and Rama das Kachhwaha."

De Laet adds a few more names, viz., Murtaza Ghan, Coolie Mamet Ghan (Qulich Muhammad Ghan).<sup>18</sup>

The *Khyat* continues : "Azam Khan addressed the following words to the nobles : 'The condition of the Emperor is getting worse. What would happen, it is difficult to predict. Troubles may arise because no successor has been chosen so far. The well-wishers of the empire should nominate somebody for the Mughal throne after giving due consideration to all the pros and cons of the situation. The character of Khusrau is well known as also the last wishes and desires of the Emperor. It is our duty to fulfil them. The Emperor desires that Sultan Khusrau should succeed him. If this is brought about, not only the Emperor will be comforted but a new era of peace, amity and security will dawn on the Empire'.

The *Khyat* further states : "After hearing this appeal from Azam Khan, Sayyid Khan Barha grew angry and spoke harshly : 'What nonsense are you talking ? Have you lost your sense ? The idea of placing Prince Khusrau on the Mughal throne during the life-time of his father (Salim) is not only preposterous but it is against all the canons and

<sup>18</sup> De Laet, *Empire of The Great Mogol*, translated by Hoyland & Banerjee, p. 171.

customs of the Chagtais. We would not allow it to be done.' After expressing his reactions Sayyid Khan Barha left the hall along with Malik Khair. After he left, all other nobles followed suit. The hall became empty and not a bird was visible."<sup>19</sup>

Strangely enough, the account of the *Khyat of Patalpota* tallies in its details with that given in *Wikaya Asad Beg*, a contemporary work of great importance, which lends ample support to the former.<sup>20</sup>

Thus, even this attempt of Raja Man Singh of enlisting the support of the powerful nobles of the Court in favour of Khusrav failed and they felt highly disappointed.

Still the Raja did not lose heart completely. He made the last desperate move, viz., seizing the Mughal treasury lying in one corner of the fort. If he succeeded in capturing the vast quantity of gold and jewellery lying in the treasury vaults, he could bribe and purchase the Mughal nobles and raise a powerful army to install Khusrav on the throne of the Mughals. But here also he was outwitted by the Barha Sayyids, supporters of Prince Salim, who had taken earlier steps to secure control over the imperial treasury. This information is gathered from the *Khyat of Patalpota* which says :

"At the time when Sayyid Khan Barha was leaving the room, he advised his bosom friend Ram Das Kachhwaha, (who, according to De Laet, was at the head of four to five thousand Rajput cavalry,<sup>21</sup> to seize the imperial treasury for Prince Salim. Ram Das at once took appropriate steps in this direction. He sent Kisan Singh Pawar along with other Rajput soldiers to take the possession of the Mughal treasury. At the bidding of Ram Das, Kishan Singh took charge of the treasury and posted his reliable men to guard the different gates of the palace.

"Raja Man Singh and Azam Khan, having failed to win over the nobles to their side next proceeded to capture the imperial treasury. Both of them accompanied by a few soldiers started towards that part of the fort where the treasury lay. When they reached near the treasury building, to their utter disgust and surprise, they found that it was strictly guarded by Kishan Singh and his men. Still the two nobles did not lose hope and they demanded the key of the treasury from Kishan Singh but the latter refused to part with it unless permitted by Ram Das Kachhwaha."<sup>22</sup>

<sup>19</sup> *Khyat of Patalpota*.

<sup>20</sup> *Wikaya Asad Beg*, Elliot VI, pp. 169-70.

<sup>21</sup> De Laet, *Empire of The Great Mogol*, translated by Hoyland & Banerjee, p. 171.

<sup>22</sup> *Khyat of Patalpota*, (MS).

On seeing the treasury under the possession of the enemies, the last hopes of the Raja were dashed to pieces. However, they decided to meet Ram Das Kachhwaha for the key of the imperial treasury.

While on the one hand, Raja Man Singh and Azam Khan were driven from pillar to post for advancing the cause of Prince Khusrau, on the other, Salim's supporters were also not sitting idle.

*The Khyat of Patalpota* further states :

"Sayyid Khan Barha went to the house of Murtaza Khan and asked "At this critical moment do you wish to sit idle at your home ? At once replied Murtaza Khan "No, my real ambition is to show the strength of my sword and to place Prince Salim on the throne." Both of them advised with each other for some time and then sent Mutamid Khan to Prince Salim with the following message : "Have patience, do not lose heart. We are faithful to your cause. So long we are alive no one can dare to challenge your claim for the throne.

"After having deputed Mutamid Khan to Prince Salim, both of them went to Raisal Sekhawat. They found Ram Das Kachhwaha also present there. There the two Mughal nobles learnt of the seizure of the imperial treasury by the men of Ram Das Kachhwaha and also they were informed how Man Singh and Azam Khan had to return disappointed on seeing the treasury in control of their enemies. This happy news filled their hearts with delight and they shouted 'Allah-o-Akbar' to give vent to their innermost joy. These nobles were fully conscious of the fact that they had to oppose the two most powerful officers of the Mughal Empire. They were also aware that Raja Man Singh had a big army at his disposal so that he alone could have measured his strength quite effectively with the combined forces of these nobles. Hence, they advised Ram Das to augment and strengthen his guards at the imperial treasury and assured him of their fullest co-operation and support in case of armed conflict with Raja Man Singh. It was also decided that all the strategic places in the capital should be guarded and consequently reliable men were posted to those points.

"When Ram Das Kachhwaha returned home, he found Raja Man Singh and Azam Khan impatiently waiting for him. As soon as they saw him, they simultaneously questioned him "Why have you posted your men to the treasury ?

Ram Das replied, "Thirty-five years back, the Emperor had appointed me to guard the palace. I hold that appointment even

today. The imperial treasury is lying in the palace. Thus, the responsibility of safeguarding it rests on me and I have simply discharged my humble duty by posting strong guards over the treasury."

Thereupon, Azam Khan said : "I greatly admire your far-sight and I promise you that this sincere work of yours will not go unrewarded when suitable opportunity comes". Further, Azam Khan requested Ram Das to accompany him to the treasury and hand over its key to him.

To this Ram Das replied, "I have posted strong guards at the treasury not for any temptation of rewards but to satisfy my sense of duty. I cannot allow anybody to enter the compound of the building, which holds the treasury, without the permission of the Emperor. Not to speak of handing over the key of the imperial treasury, I will be forced to keep a strong watch over those who visit the imperial palace. I shall close the door for all excepting a few."

Upon hearing this from Ram Das, Azam Khan informed him that he had come to demand the key at the bidding of the Emperor.

To this Ram Das replied, "The Emperor is seriously ill. He is not even in his own senses. How can he pass any order ? Even if he passes any order, how can it be binding on me because it has been passed in a delirious state of mind."

Azam Khan told him, "According to the wishes of the Emperor, Khusrau has assumed the reins of government. I am demanding the key at the orders of Sultan Khusrau."

To this Ramdas seriously objected, "The Emperor is still alive. Nobody can succeed him during his life-time and such orders cannot be obeyed."

It is really surprising that during the whole of the conversation, Raja Man Singh was silent. He must be attentively listening to it and drawing his own conclusions. When Ram Das Kachhwaha finally refused to hand over the key of the imperial treasury to Azam Khan in spite of the earnest and repeated requests of the latter, then Raja Man Singh decided to intervene and he put this question to him, "May I remind you as to who am I and what wonders can I accomplish ?

To this Ramdas replied : "No, *Maharaja* ! I have not forgotten you, how can I forget you ? I do remember that all of us belong to the same family. The same blood flows in our veins. If there can be any difference, it is this that one is guided by feeling of devotion to duty."

Upon this Raja Man Singh got enraged and said, "Ram Das ! You are speaking something very objectionable, hold your tongue, If not. . ."

In the meantime Ram Das interrupted : "What can you do ? You will simply cut off my tongue but we Rajputs do not care for it. We ever remain prepared to brave deaths. You may chop off my head but you cannot get the keys of the imperial treasury from me so long I am alive. You can get the keys only after I die."

The Raja's patience was almost at the breaking point. He threatened : "It appears that words would not accomplish—the swords will decide the issue."

Kishan Singh, (who had been posted to guard the imperial treasury) was overhearing the talks of these nobles of the Mughal Court from outside and when he found that Raja Man Singh had threatened his master (i.e. Ram Das Kachhwaha) with a battle, he at once entered the room and said : "Sir, your bricks will be replied to by bricks and swords by swords. You are welcome to battle-field wherever and whenever it suits your convenience."

In the meantime Ram Das and Azam Khan intervened and did not allow the situation to deteriorate any further. Azam Khan thinking it useless to stay any longer left the place along with Raja Man Singh. When they crossed the "Hathiapol gate" (Elephant gate) they found the outskirts of the forts strongly guarded by the soldiers of Ramdas.<sup>22</sup>

The last hopes of Raja Man Singh were now dashed to the ground. They realised the truth that they were fighting for a lost cause. The Raja's diplomacy had failed. The only course left was resorting to sword for deciding the issue. The *Khyat of Patalpotha* notes that Azam Khan dared not risk a war because he had no faith in his own men. Raja Man Singh had a faithful army at his command but he was so broken-hearted on account of the failure of all his plans that he did not like to seek a solution in the whirlpool of blood. The *Khyat* tells us that he decided to proceed to Bengal along with Prince Khusrau. Azam Khan also expressed his desire to accompany him because he rightly concluded that his stay in Agra was not without danger to his life and property. He apprehended such a great danger from the side of his enemies that he sent his

<sup>22</sup> The whole interview and the discussions among the nobles of Akbar's Court are based on the versions of *Khyat of Patalpotha*.

wives and children to Raja Man Singh's residence at Agra for protection. The future of these two nobles seemed dismal and dark.<sup>24</sup>

On the other side, the events were marching at a great speed.

The *Khyat* adds :

"On being deputed by Sayyid Khan Barha and Murtaza Khan, Mutamid Khan reached Salim at the time when the latter was preparing to start for Allahabad. He delivered the message of Sayyid Khan Barha and requested him not to leave the imperial capital. After some time, Sayyid Khan Barha and Murtaza Khan came to pay their homage to the Prince and they narrated the whole story of the discomfiture, disgrace and disappointment of Raja Man Singh and Azam Khan. The Prince was much pleased to hear the good news and expressed his appreciation for the devotion and loyalty of Ram Das Kachhwaha and Sekhawat and promised to reward them at the suitable time

"When Salim was convinced of the faithfulness of his followers and found that he was now the unchallenged master of the situation, he decided to pay a visit to his dying father in the Agra fort. As soon as he entered the sick room of the Emperor, the latter opened his eyes and beckoned to an attendant standing near by to place his turban on the head of the Prince and further directed that his personal dagger be girded on to the waist of Salim. The last wishes of the sick monarch were duly carried out and Salim was declared to be the future Emperor of the Mughal Empire."<sup>25</sup>

Asad Beg furnishes us with the information regarding the whereabouts of Raja Man Singh. He observes : "When Raja Man Singh saw the change in the aspect of affairs, he took Sultan Khusru with him to his own palace, and prepared boats, intending to escape the next day to Bengal. . . .

"When Salim returned to his own palace from the fort, intelligence reached him that Raja Man Singh, taking with him Sultan Khusru, was embarking on board boats, for Bengal, with all his servants and troops. Although the royal heart was vexed at hearing this, yet he sent Madhav Singh, his brother, who was present, to re-assure and bring him back. Madhav Singh went to the Raja, and reproving him strongly, asked what he meant by acting thus towards such a sovereign, and of what use it was ?

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>25</sup> *Khyat of Patalpota.*

*Wikaya Asad Beg*, Elliot VI, p. 171, (London, 1875).

"Raja Man Singh replied : "What can I do ? The Prince is young and knew nothing of all these matters. I was obliged to act as I have done, to satisfy him (Khusrau)". Do you go and say, 'Let a promise be given that he (Khusrau) may be relieved from all fear, and I may be satisfied that no harm will befall him, and I will bring him to your Majesty's feet."

"Madhav Singh returned and reported Raja Man Singh's wishes and petition to His Majesty, (i.e. Jahangir) who gave his promise, with the utmost grace and kindness, that no harm should happen to him from anyone, and set him back confirming his word with solemn oaths. The next day Raja Man Singh came to Court, and brought Sultan Khusrus to the feet of his royal father. His Majesty treated him with the greatest kindness, and clasping him to his bosom, kissed his face. After a moment he (Jahangir) dismissed him to his own house."<sup>26</sup>

Let us see what Emperor Jhangir himself has to say about Raja Man Singh. He states :

"After Shaikh Fereid, the Bokharian, came Rajah Maun Sing, whom I also presented with an enriched Kreisse and baldric, a horse and furniture, and otherwise treated with friendship and distinction. The day following Khossrou himself, accompanied by the same Rajah Maun Sing and Mirza Azziz Koukah was admitted to my presence ; the latter urging me upon the request that the province of Bengal should be bestowed in full sovereignty upon Khossrou, and that Payendah Mahomed Teheghal should be sent to attend or assist him in his government.

"Although it must be considered inconsistent with the ordinary maxims of policy to have allowed of the absence of Khossrou from my presence at the very commencement of my reign, obnoxious as he was to the suspicion of such ambitious views, and all about my person concurring in the opinion, I ventured, nevertheless, to comply with this request. I directed, at the same time, that they should embark and cross the Jamnah without entering the castle of Agra, assuring them that as soon as the impending mournful event should have taken place, they would be permitted to proceed towards Bengal."<sup>27</sup>

Akbar died on 15th of October, 1605,<sup>28</sup> and in his death, Raja Man Singh lost one of his greatest admirers and supporters. Akbar loved the Raja dearly and had conferred on him the title of 'Farzand'

<sup>26</sup> *Wihaya Asad Beg*, Elliot VI, pp. 171-73.

<sup>27</sup> *Jahangir's Memoirs*, translated by Major David Price, p. 75.

<sup>28</sup> *Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, III, p. 1260.

(son).<sup>29</sup> The Emperor had so much confidence in him that he had invited him to remain close to him during his last days. Besides, he entrusted the most responsible and difficult work to the Raja which the latter carried out unhesitatingly. Raja Man Singh also served his master well. He contributed a good deal towards establishing the Mughal Empire on a sound footing. His services were not forgotten by the Emperor. He was elevated to the highest rank in the State—7000 *mansab*—an honour which was so far reserved for the princes of the blood royal. Thus, Raja Man Singh enjoyed a very distinguished position in the Court of Akbar. This fact has also been borne out by Jahangir in his '*Memoirs*' in which he writes :

"Maun Singh obtained such a predominance in my father's government, that he was permitted to reside alternately six months at Court and six months at his jagirs. As a proof of the affluence of his resources it is sufficient to state, that whenever he repaired to my father's presence, it seldom occurred that his compliment of homage did not amount to two laks of fine mithkaly *ashrefis*; and so far did he outstrip all that his grand father, Bharmul, had attained to, that among the Rajahs of Hindustaun there is not one that can be put on a parallel with Rajah Maun Singh."<sup>30</sup>

The death of Akbar marked the close of one period in the career of Raja Man Singh and the beginning of another. Up till now the Kachhwaha Raja was the foremost noble in the Mughal Court, enjoyed the utmost confidence of the Emperor and successfully carried out all the important assignments but after the death of Akbar he was gradually but steadily pushed to the background. The new Emperor had no faith in him, closely watched his movements and looked into his activities with suspicion. The new regime did not augur well for Raja Man Singh.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3

<sup>30</sup> *Memoirs of Jahangir*, translated by Major David Price, p. 21.

## CHAPTER IX

### RAJA MAN SINGH AND EMPEROR JAHANGIR

After his accession to the throne, Emperor Jahangir declared a general amnesty. Thousands of prisoners were set at liberty.<sup>1</sup> This generous treatment was also extended to Raja Man Singh. He too was recipient of many honours and rewards. His governorship of the *Subah* of Bengal was renewed and he was directed to resume his charge at the earliest. This fact was considered so important by Jahangir that he mentions it in his '*Memoirs*':

"Certain considerations, nevertheless, prevailed with me some time afterwards to reinstate Rajah Maun Sing in the government of Bengal, although he could himself have entertained no expectations of such a favour at my hands. I conferred upon him at the same time an honorary dress, or pellise, and a scimitar set with jewels, together with the horse *Koukparah*, the best in my thousand—ashrefi horse stables."<sup>2</sup>

The fact that Man Singh was forgiven and the *subedari* of Bengal was renewed to him has been further corroborated by the *Khyat* of *Pathalpolha* and *Maasir-i-Jahangiri*. The *Khyat* notes: "Man Singh, the Subedar of Bengal was given the rank of *Panchah Sowar* (five thousand *mansab*) and was rewarded a bejewelled sword and a *chaharqub*, a horse and was sent to Bengal by Jahangir."<sup>3</sup>

At the outset it appears quite strange that Jahangir did not take drastic steps against Raja Man Singh who had left no stone unturned to oust him from the Mughal throne. When we examine the facts a little more closely, we come to the conclusion that Jahangir did it under force of circumstances. Raja Man Singh was the most outstanding personality of the Mughal Court. He was at the head of a strong Kachhwaha cavalry which was famous for its gallantry and chivalry. Besides, Jahangir had not as yet established himself firmly on the Mughal throne and it would have been inexpedient and unwise to remove and humiliate a powerful noble like Raja Man Singh. Moreover, the Raja had rendered immense services to the Mughal Empire and he was popular amongst the rank and file of the Mughal army. Therefore, Jahangir did not like to disturb the confidence of

<sup>1</sup> *Memoirs of Jahangir*, translated by Major David Price, p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 19.

<sup>3</sup> *Maasir-i-Jahangiri*, (MS), II, p. 36.

the army by quarrelling with him. The Mughal Emperor was conscious of the fact that in spite of his failure, Raja Man Singh shrank from solving the issue of succession by resorting to armed conflict. Had Jahangir done anything to harm the Raja, the latter would have openly backed up the cause of Khusrau and drawn the country in the vortex of civil war. Thus, Jahangir was guided by practical consideration. There was another reason for re-instating Raja Man Singh as the governor of Bengal. It is stated in a later work entitled "*Riyazu-s-salatin*" that ever since Jahangir ascended the imperial throne at Agra he received information through official despatches and correspondences about the insurrection of Usman Khan in Bengal.<sup>4</sup> Raja Man Singh who had earned a good deal of experience in Bengal affairs could be safely depended upon for suppressing the rebellion of the Afghan leader, Usman Khan. The appointment of Raja Man Singh as the *Subedar* of Bengal was the result of mature deliberation and keen foresight.

The aforesaid considerations led Jahangir to appoint Raja Man Singh to the nizamat of the *Subah* of Bengal while Wazir Khan was exalted to the office of *Diwan* and Auditor of the Province.<sup>5</sup> The appointment of Wazir Khan along with the Kachhwaha Raja is rather significant. Rightly points out the late Sir J. N. Sarkar : "The provincial *Diwan* was the rival of the Subahdar. The two had to keep a strict and jealous watch on each other. ....He was selected by the imperial *Diwan* and acted directly under his orders".<sup>6</sup> It appears that Wazir Khan was selected so that he might serve as a check on the powers of the Kachhwaha Raja.

Raja Man Singh did not enjoy a peaceful regime in Bengal. Immediately after his arrival in the *Subah*, he was confronted with the rebellion of the Afghans headed by Usman Khan. The Kachhwaha Raja engaged them in a fierce fight. In spite of a long and protracted battle the Afghan rebels were not crushed. Usman Khan, in order to bide time, opened secret negotiations with Raja Man Singh on failure of which he withdrew from the contest and fled away to unknown destination.<sup>7</sup>

Raja Man Singh was not allowed to remain in Bengal for a long time. After his accession to the throne, Emperor Jahangir, in the course of six months, was able to consolidate and strengthen his position. Now, he found himself free to deal with the Kachhwaha Raja

<sup>4</sup> Salim, Ghulam Hussain, *Riyazu-s-Salatin*, translated by Maulvi Abdus Salam, p. 168.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> Sarkar, J. N., *The Mughal Administration*, Patna University Readership Lectures, 1920, p. 44.

<sup>7</sup> Salim, G. H., *Riyazu-s-Salatin*, translated by M. A. Salam, p. 168. ..

more effectively. He recalled Raja Man Singh from Bengal and sent Qutbuddin Khan Kokaltash to take charge of the province.<sup>10</sup> *Rivazu-s-Salatin* observes : "This time the Bengal viceroyalty of Raja Man Singh lasted eight months and a few days."

Raja Man Singh left Bengal in June, 1606.<sup>11</sup> The exit of the Kachhwaha Raja from Bengal in the same year of Jahangir's accession has also been alluded to in *Maasir-ul-umara* which observes : "After Jahangir's succession, Raja Man Singh left for Bengal but in the same year was transferred and was engaged for a while in chastising the rebels at Rohtas."<sup>12</sup>

*Maasir-ul-umara* thus furnishes us another important information that Raja Man Singh after being relieved from his office of the governorship of Bengal was asked to suppress the rebellion at Rohtas. This fact has also been mentioned in the *Jaipur Vansawali* which states :

"After some time the Raja moved towards the fort of Rohdas (Rohtas) and besieged it. He closed the inlets and outlets of the fort and forbade any food-grain to pass within the fort of Rohdas. Within a fortnight of the siege, the rebels surrendered and they requested the Raja to permit them to leave the palace unmolested which the latter did. After they left, the Raja marched into the fort".<sup>13</sup>

The *Jaipur Vansawali* does not state anything about the nature of the rebellion and the identity of the rebels. We have already seen that the fort of Rohtas had long been the abode of Raja Man Singh while he was the governor of Bihar and Bengal during the reign of Emperor Akbar. The Kachhwaha Raja was so fond of the lovely fort that he had constructed a beautiful palace within the fort for the residence of the members of his family. It appears quite likely that while Raja Man Singh was away to Agra on the eve of Akbar's death, the fortress of Rohtas fell under the sway of some Afghan rebels who were always on the look-out for such an opportunity in order to re-establish their hold at the cost of Mughal authority. Moreover, the Afghans must have felt special pleasure in conquering the fort of Rohtas—a favourite place of their arch enemy, Raja Man Singh, who had shattered their dream of creating

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>12</sup> Jagangir ascended the throne in October, 1605. Raja Man Singh left Bengal after eight months of Jahangir's accession to the throne i.e. June, 1606.

<sup>13</sup> *Maasir-ul-umara*, translated by H. Beveridge, II, p. 55.

<sup>14</sup> *Vansawali* in the State Archives of Jaipur, (MS), p. 44.

'Afghanistan' in Bengal. It is quite natural that Kachhwaha Raja after being freed from the responsibility of Bengal governorship, took the earliest step of relieving the fort of Rohtas from the control of the Afghans.

After suppressing the rebellion in Rohtas, Raja Man Singh visited Agra to pay his respects to Emperor Jahangir. This has been noted in *Maasir-i-Jahangiri* which observes : "Man Singh came from the fort of Rohtas and met Jahangir at Akbarabad and presented him one hundred elephants".<sup>12</sup>

Raja Man Singh remained in the fort of Rohtas till the end of the year 1606. In 1607<sup>13</sup> the Kachhwaha Raja married his granddaughter (daughter of Kuar Jagat Singh) to Emperor Jahangir and presented sixty elephants by way of dowry.<sup>14</sup> In the same year Raja Man Singh was recalled from Rohtas and the fort was given in charge of Kuka-zada Kishwar Khan.<sup>15</sup> The jagirs of Man Singh at Rohtas were terminated<sup>16</sup> and he was directed to report himself to the imperial Court.

Raja Man Singh was not allowed to remain in the capital for long. His assignment lay elsewhere. The Mughal generals were not faring well in the Deccan expedition and so Jahangir was anxious to send an experienced general to the South. Naturally the services of Raja Man Singh were requisitioned for the purpose and he was instructed to proceed to the Deccan at the earliest.<sup>17</sup>

The Kachhwaha Raja, ever since the death of Akbar, had not visited his home and he was anxious to go there before leaving for the south. The Raja sought the permission of the Emperor to visit Amber which was duly given. This fact has been mentioned by Jahangir in his '*Memoirs*' : "Raja Man Singh, in order to make his preparations for the equipment of the army of the *Dakhin*, whither he was ordered to proceed, asked for leave to go to Amber, his native country. I granted his request and gave him an elephant which was called '*Hushiyar Mast*'".<sup>18</sup>

Raja Man Singh visited his home-state in 1607. He was given a right royal reception by the people of Amber. The Raja utilized his stay at Amber in putting his 'house in order'. He made fresh allotment of jagirs to his followers who had lost their own at Rohtas. He tightened the administration and consolidated the affairs of the

<sup>12</sup> *Maasir-i-Jahangiri*, II, p. 55.

<sup>13</sup> *Maasir-ul-umara*, states that the marriage took place in the third year of Jahangir's reign.

<sup>14</sup> *Maasir-i-Jahangiri*, II, p. 57.

<sup>15</sup> Nathan, Mirza, *Baharistan-i-Ghaybi*, translated by Dr. M. I. Borah, I, p. 3.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid*,

<sup>17</sup> *Vir Vinod*, II, p. 1282.

<sup>18</sup> *Memoirs of Jahangir*, translated by Major David Price, p. 38.

State.<sup>20</sup> This visit of the Kachhwaha Raja is significant because this was his last home-coming in that he died a few years later in the South.

So long Raja Man Singh was in Rohtas or in the imperial capital, Jahangir had not given much attention to the affairs of Bengal or Rohtas. He had simply sent Qutbuddin Khan Qokultash to take over charge from Raja Man Singh. Perhaps it was a stopgap arrangement, for as soon as the Raja left Amber, the Emperor appointed Islam Khan as the Subedar of Bengal. The new Subedar was given full power to reorganize the affairs of the province as he liked best. The province of Bengal was under the charge of Raja Man Singh for more than a decade, viz., from 1591 to 1605. Jahangir was ever suspicious of the designs of Raja Man Singh and, therefore, he had no trust in those officers of Bengal who had worked under the latter. We shall presently see that he had lost faith even in Wazir Khan who had been appointed as Wazir of Bengal to work as a check on the Raja.

Perhaps it was under the direction of the Emperor that the new governor sent the following message to the former :

"The management of the affairs of this province should receive the attention of the officers of the State. The Office of the Diwan should be given to a man of integrity. Ihtiman Khan who is one of the most efficient officers of the imperial Court or someone else as competent should be sent as the chief-officer of the fleet and the artillery. All the old officers who proved to be dishonest and treacherous and who are unfit for service in this province should be recalled to the Court".<sup>21</sup>

A royal firman was issued : "Wazir Khan, the former Diwan of the Province, the sons of Masum Khan and Lachi Khan Qaqsal who were the leaders of the mischief of that country are to be taken into custody and sent to the imperial Court. Any one of these old officers who takes recourse to his old habits and courses of action against your orders and advice should be discharged from service. Whoever is wanted by you from the Court, we shall appoint him in that place.....It was directed that Ihtiman Khan be appointed to the aforesaid post of *Mir Bahr* or Admiral. On his way from the capital City to Patna he was ordered to take back from every place men and followers of Mirza Raja Man Singh and the cannons that were brought from Bengal and Rohtas were ordered to be utilized for service in Bengal.

<sup>20</sup> Sharma, Hanuman, *History of Nathawat*, p. 114.

<sup>21</sup> Nathan, Mirza, *Baharistan-i-Ghaybi*, translated by Dr. M. I. Borah, I, p. 3.

.....It was also ordered that after reaching Patna, Afzal Khan, Iradat Khan and Ihtiman Khan should go to Rohtas and after making minute enquiries about the affairs of that place, they should arrange for the necessary number of soldiers and musketeers to remain with Kuka-zada Kishwar Khan to guard the fort and that the quantity of artillery which Ihtiman Khan would decide to carry from Rohtas to Bengal should be taken by him and receipt should be given to Kishwar Khan.<sup>22</sup>

The directions contained in the royal farman mentioned above amply demonstrate the distrust of Emperor Jahangir towards Raja Man Singh and his officers. The old guards of the Raja like Wazir Khan, sons of Masum Khan and Lachi Khan were to be taken into custody and sent to the Court. The officers who took recourse to "their old habits and courses of action" were to be discharged from service. Ihtiman Khan, the new Admiral, was ordered to take back from every place all the men and followers of Raja Man Singh. The fort of Rohtas was taken away from Raja Man Singh and given to another officer named Keshwar Khan. Thus it is evident that Jahangir was anxious to free Bengal from all the "men and followers of Raja Man Singh".

Mirza Nathan further narrates how Ihtiman Khan met one of the queens of Raja Man Singh, on her way to Delhi and took under his possession some of the articles which she had with her. He states :

"Ihtiman Khan started for Bengal on 9th Rabi-u-l-Awwal 1016 A.H. i.e. the 24th of June, 1607 A.D. Before his arrival at Allahabad, Kalyan Singh, son of Raja Man Singh<sup>23</sup> had left Allahabad and had proceeded up to Sarai Bundagi<sup>24</sup> along with Rani Gaur,<sup>25</sup> the chief wife of the Raja who was coming to the Court from Rohtas. Therefore, as the royal orders were that Ihtiman Khan should carry with him the whole of the artillery brought by the men of Raja Man Singh from

<sup>22</sup> Nathan, Mirza, *Baharistan-i-Ghaybi*, I, translated by Dr. M. I. Borah, p. 3.  
<sup>23</sup> The translator, Mr. Borah, is of opinion that Kalyan Singh was the son of Todar Mal. He has come to this conclusion on the basis of *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Vol. I, p. 402 but he is wrong in his conclusion. In fact, Kalyan Singh was one of the sons of Raja Man Singh and this is substantiated by Mirza Nathan himself and also by *Kachhwaha's Vansawali* and *Genealogical Table* in the State Archives of Jaipur.

<sup>24</sup> It being a halting station near about Allahabad.

<sup>25</sup> The translator is of opinion that she was the cooch-Bihar princess who was married to Raja Man Singh. He is confused by the word "Gaur" and describes her as one hailing from Gaur. But he is mistaken here. Rani Gaur, was the name of the second wife of Raja Man Singh and according to *Kachhwaha's Vansawali*, she was the mother of Durjan Singh, Sabal Singh and Bhao Singh. Her full name was Rani Gaur Sahodra. (*Kachhwaha's Vansawali*, p. 87 (b)).

Bengal and Rohtas, Ihtiman Khan sent some of his trustworthy officers to Kalyan Singh and Rani Gaur. They brought with them 330 pieces of cannon of the type of *Gajnal* (small cannon), *hatnal* (match-lock) and *Shir-dahan* (cannon with mouths shaped like a tiger mouth) and a receipt was issued to that effect. They also took possession of some of their war-boats which were at Allahabad. Then they left that place suffering them to retain the other belongings and passed on to river Ganges at its confluence with the Jamuna and Ihtiman Khan pitched his camp at Jhansi".<sup>26</sup>

After the death of Akbar in 1605, when Jahangir succeeded to the throne, he resumed his father's "forward" policy in the Deccan but he was confronted by a very able statesman and military leader in Malik Amber, the Abyssinian minister and general of the Nizam-shahi Kings of Ahmadnagar. He speedily recovered the lost territories and sharply checked the Mughal advance. To retrieve the position, Jahangir sent the Khan-i-Khanan at the head of a large force, consisting of 12,000 men to carry on the war in the Deccan. The supreme command was entrusted to Prince Parwez and with him were associated other military officers of renown.<sup>27</sup> Raja Man Singh accompanied the Khan-khana and the Prince to the South. William Finch notes : "On twentieth of July, 1609 Sha Selim commanded Canchanna (Khan Khana) and Man Singo (Man Singh) two great commanders of his, to invade all the kingdoms from hence to the south, even to cape comeri for which a huge armie was assembling".<sup>28</sup>

It appears that Raja Man Singh remained in Amber for a little less than three years and went to the Deccan in July, 1609. William Finch had accompanied Prince Parwez to the south and he makes reference to the arrival of Raja Man Singh in his account. He notes : "And during my abode in the campe came also Raja Manisengo with ten thousand horse, so that all the plains for a great distance were covered with tents, very brave to behold. With the armie came divers, great boats for the transportation of forces over waters".<sup>29</sup>

Prince Perves came to the south accompanied by powerful nobles of the Court and he asked the Deccanese Sultans to submit and pay tributes. It has been corroborated by De Laet who states :

"Sultan Parves sent letters to Adil chan and Gotobel Melicq asking them why they had omitted to send the custo-

<sup>26</sup> Nathan, Mirza, *Baharistan-i-Ghyabi*, translated by M. I. Borah, I, p. 7.

<sup>27</sup> Prasad, Ishwari, *History of Muslim Rule in India*, pp. 361-62.

<sup>28</sup> Foster, *Early travels in India*, (William Finch Account), p. 181.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid*, p. 189.

many gifts to king Ziahangier. They replied that the presents had been ready for a long time : let the prince send a representative to receive them : and let him make the same demand from Melicq Amber, and if he refused compel him by force to obey. Thereupon Sultan Perves sent Radia Man Singh and Radia Ramdas with a strong force to Ballagat against Melicq Amber".<sup>30</sup>

Man Singh did not fare well in this expedition against Malik Amber. William Finch observes : "..... I went to him (i.e. Prince Parwez) to take my leave, where came the news of the overthrow of certain of Mani Sengo's forces."<sup>31</sup>

De Laet has given a graphic description as to how the Mughal army was outwitted by the Deccan forces. He notes :

"Ghan Azem, having arrived at Bramporc, summoned thither also Gan Ganna who was conducting a campaign in the district of Khoor.<sup>32</sup> At a council held by the strongest and most loyal of the king's magnates it was arranged that Radia Abdul Hassen, (Khwaja Abdul Hassen) Radia Mametzing (Raja Man Singh) and Radia Raemdas, (Ramdas) with many of the ommerau, should advance towards Ballaghat, and that Gan Ganna with Ganziahan should follow in support with the rest of the army. Melicq Amber advanced to meet the attack which 20,000 cavalry which he had raised himself, 20,000 which Adelghan had lent to him, and 10,000 sent by Gotobel Melicq. Abdul Can, the governor of Gusrat was also ordered by the king to join his forces as soon as possible to the army in the Deccan ; and this order he obeyed with alacrity.

"The royal forces had by now drawn near to Kerki (Khirki), the capital of the Deccan, and unwalled town, but only 5 or 6 cas distant from the strong fortress of Daultabad. Melicq Amber who had resolved to risk a battle, sent Fassen to cut off Abdulchan before he joined forces with the royal army. Fassen carried out his orders with energy, but when the royal army, which consisted of 1,00,000 cavalry, came into sight, Melicq Amber was terror-stricken and fled in panic with a few followers. However, Molhena Mamet Lary, the Wackhil of Adelghan and commander of the 20,000 cavalry sent by the latter in support of the king of the Deccan, remained behind in the fortress, and perceiving the greatly superior power of the royal forces, had recourse to guile. He caused forged letters to be conveyed by obscure messengers to the chief Ommerau. Radia Manzing,

<sup>30</sup> De Laet, *Empire of the Great Mogol*, translated by Hoyland & Banerjee, pp. 185-186.

<sup>31</sup> Foster, *Early travels in India*, (William Finch Account), p. 191.

<sup>32</sup> It may be Korah or Karra.

Raemdas and Gan-Ganna, in which it was announced that king Ziahangirr was dead. The ommerau were deceived by the letters, collected their baggage, left the Decan and retreated to Brampore. On receiving similar letters Abdulchan burnt his tents, retreated to a strong position at Thaliegieran, (Thalner) and thence returned to Gusalat. Meanwhile, Melicq Amber, recovering from his panic, had no difficulty in recovering all the places which had been occupied by the Mogols, and set to work to fortify them with new defences".<sup>33</sup>

De Laet further continues : "King Ziahangier was greatly enraged at the silly credulity shown in this affair by his Ommerrau, and sent them letters in which he reproached them bitterly. Having advanced to Mandow he made Mahobatgan Governor of Brampur and the province of Berar. Fortune favoured Mahobatgan to such an extent that in a short time he had reconquered all the country as far as Kerki".<sup>34</sup>

It is really surprising that Raja Man Singh could have been deluded by the trickery of Maulana Mamet Lary. The Raja was a veteran warrior, an experienced general and a far-sighted statesman and as such it is difficult to believe that he fell a prey to the strategem of the Deccanese. Besides De Laet, no contemporary source either Indian or foreign has made any reference to this incident. The story of the forged letter does not carry much conviction. However, this much is certain that the Imperialists were defeated at the hands of the forces of Malik Amber.

Further, it has also to be admitted that Man Singh did not achieve any glorious success in the southern campaigns. He met the same fate as other Mughal generals were destined to. The reasons are obvious. The Raja was no longer the trusted commander of the Mughal Emperor as he had been during the regime of Akbar. He was not given an independent command in the south and therefore, he had no opportunity to show his initiative and drive in this campaign. Moreover, there was no unity of command amongst the Mughal generals in the south and as such they often quarrelled with one another. In this circumstance how could Raja Man Singh pursue a well laid out policy in the Deccan campaigns. The reason for the Raja's failure might be that he was a broken-hearted man because he had suffered a series of bereavements in the recent past. In fact, Raja Man Singh played a secondary role in this Mughal expedition to the south though he remained in the Deccan for over five years until his death. He died a natural death on Asarh Shukla

<sup>33</sup> De Laet, *The Empire of the Great Mogol*, translated by Hoyland & Banerjee, pp. 187-88.

<sup>34</sup> De Laet, *The Empire of the Great Mogol*, translated by Hoyland & Banerjee, pp. 188-89.

10, V. S. 1671 i.e. 6th July, 1614, at Elichpur in the south after a short illness.<sup>35</sup>

After the death of Raja Man Singh, Raja Bhaos Singh ascended the throne of Amber on Asarh Sudi 11, V. S. 1671, i.e. 7th July, 1614 A.D. but he died, after a short rule of seven years, on Paus Sudi 10, V. S. 1678, i.e. 18th December, 1621 A.D. due to heavy drinking. He was succeeded by Raja Jai Singh on Phalgun Sudi 4, V. S. 1678, or 4th February, 1622 A.D.<sup>36</sup>

Raja Man Singh was cremated at Elichpur. Four of his queens burnt themselves on the funeral pyre of their husband in the south. These queens were Rani Tilok, Rani Chandrabhan, Rani Chohan and Rani Barbhavati.<sup>37</sup> The last named was the Cooch-Bihar princess—daughter of Kishan Rai.

Though the Raja was cremated at Elichpur, the ashes were brought to Amber and they were deposited with due honour under a sepulchre in the royal burial ground which is located in one corner of Amber. The sepulchre of Man Singh is most elaborately carved. Its arches are supported on tapering pillars of pure Hindu style which are twelve in number. From base to top, the cenotaph is plain and executed according to traditional style of such structures in Rajputana. All round inside the cenotaph are painted the figures of gods and goddesses viz., Mahabir, Kalki Avatar, Hanuman, Radha Krishna, Surya, Lakshmi, Govardhandhari, Ram Lakshman meeting, Brahma, Varah, Chamunda, Nrisingh, Gopikrishna, Saraswati and Buddha. The cenotaph is covered by a dome in Hindu style with stripes done in stones in interior. The whole sepulchre is made of stone. The cenotaph of Raja Man Singh is faced by that of Raja Bharamal which is not so elaborately executed though it is better planned.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>35</sup> Genealogical Table in the State Archives of Jaipur.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>37</sup> *Kachhwaha's Vansawali*, p. 51.

<sup>38</sup> Based on personal observation, See III. Nos. 16 & 17.

## CHAPTER X

### CHARACTER AND PERSONALITY OF RAJA MAN SINGH

*Raja Man Singh :* The private life of Raja Man Singh has not been understood in its true perspective so far on account of some inaccurate statement of Emperor Jahangir or exaggerated versions of some European writers. Wrong ideas have been formed about the harem of Kachhwaha Raja. Jahangir notes : "..... Although Man Singh is known to have had by his fifteen hundred wives not less than two and three children each, all of them died except Bhaos Singh".<sup>1</sup> Mr. Blochmann states : "Man Singh died a natural death in the 9th year of Jahangir's reign whilst in the Deccan, sixty of his fifteen hundred wives burned themselves on the funeral pyre".<sup>2</sup>

It is unfortunate that sufficient information is not available about the personal life of Raja Man, but from the evidences that can be gathered, one can say with certainty that the Raja had less than two dozen wives and over a dozen of children. One gets some idea about the harem of Raja Man Singh and also about his progeny from *Kachhwaha's Vansawali*—a Rajasthani MS—which though of later age is of much value for supplying important historical information. This source states that the Raja had twenty-one wives, viz.,

- (i) *Rani Kanakawati* : She was the chief wife of the Kachhwaha Raja and was the mother of Jagat Singh, the *Yuvaraj* (heir-apparent) of Amber.
- (ii) *Rani Gowr Sahodra* : Her sons were Durjan Singh, Sobal Singh and Bhaos Singh. Two daughters were also born to her—Madnavati and Muktawati.
- (iii) *Rani Jamoti* : She was the mother of Himmat Singh and Kusal Singh.
- (iv) *Rani Hamir* : She had one daughter only named Ram Kavar.

<sup>1</sup> *Memoirs of Jahangir*, translated by Major David Price, p. 29.  
<sup>2</sup> *Ain-i-Akbari*, (Blochmann's translation), I, p. 341.

(v) *Rani Ramkawar-sichan* : She had two daughters—Rup Kuar and Badankuar.

(vi) *Rani Banaras*<sup>3</sup> : Her son's name was Kalyan Das.

(vii) *Rani Barbhavati Bangalini*<sup>4</sup> : She was the daughter of Kishan Rai.

(viii) *Rani Sumitra* : She was the mother of Sakat Singh and Fateh Singh.

(ix) *Rani Chohan Shyam Kuar* : Her son's name was Shyam Singh.

(x) *Rani Tilok* :

(xi) *Rani Balhan* :

(xii) *Rani Chohan* :

(xiii) *Rani Asmati Rager* :

(xiv) *Rani Ratnawati* :

(xv) *Rani Chand Kuar* :

(xvi) *Rani Lachha* :

(xvii) *Rani Katochde* :

(xviii) *Rani Sisar Madnavati* :

(xix) *Rani Prabhavati* :

(xx) *Rani Navachha* :

(xxi) *Rani Schamavati* :

Her son's name was Keshodas.

That Raja Man Singh had about two dozen wives is further substantiated by the fact that he had built twenty-four apartments for his queens in his palace at Amber. Moreover, the *Mahalsarai* (Ladies Apartment) in the fort of Rohtas<sup>5</sup> which was built by the Kachhwaha Raja for the residence of his queens also provided accommodation for fifteen ladies only. In the face of these data the version of Mr. Blochmann that Raja Man Singh had fifteen hundred wives seems to be a concocted story. Besides, it is something preposterous to imagine that a man can have so many wives. It is only in legends that one hears that Lord Krishna had more than

<sup>3</sup> The 'Vansawali' in the State Archives of Jaipur notes that the Raja had been to Banaras—a religious city of All-India importance in the northern India—in connection with the suppression of a serious rebellion there. It is quite probable that Raja Man Singh had married the daughter of the Raja of Banaras who came to be known as 'Rani Banaras'—(Vansawali, p. 41).

<sup>4</sup> According to Dr. M. L. Sharma, the name of the Cooch-Bihar princess was Alba Devi.

<sup>5</sup> Raja Man Singh had remodelled the fort of Rohtas and had built several palaces in it while he was the governor of Bihar and Bengal.

seventeen hundred wives. Further, Blochmann's statement that sixty queens of Raja Man Singh burned themselves on the funeral pyre of their husband also stands to be corrected. The *Kachhwaha's Vansawali* notes that only four wives of Raja Man Singh became *Suttee* by burning themselves on the funeral pyre of their husband at Elichpur. It actually names them, viz., Rani Tilok, Rani Chandrabhan, Rani Chohan and Rani Barbavati. Besides, five of his queens—Rani Ram Kuar, Rani Jamoti, Rani Ratnawati, Rani Madnavati became *Suttee* at Amber.<sup>6</sup> Some of the Raja's queens had died earlier and among them mention may be made of the chief wife—Rani Kanakavati, mother of Kuar Jagat Singh. Some others had natural death after they became widows.

The information given by Jahangir that Raja Man Singh had 'by his fifteen hundred wives not less than two or three children each,' is a mis-statement of fact and as such should be rejected. The list of children given in the *Kachhwaha's Vansawali* (already quoted above) more or less tallies with the list given in the Genealogical Table in the State Archives of Jaipur. The table is as follows :

Raja Man Singh<sup>7</sup>

Jagat	Sakat	Himmat	Bhao	Sabal	Surjan	Shyam	Shikar	Kesho
Singh.	Das.							
			Kalyan	Ram	Atibal			
			Singh.	Singh.	Singh.			

Though the Raja had one dozen sons but all of them died either in the battle-field or by heavy drinking and the Kachhwaha Raja was survived by only two sons—Bhao Singh and Kalyan Singh. It has already been mentioned that Bhao Singh succeeded to the throne of Amber after the death of his father, Raja Man Singh.

*Raja Man Singh :*

*His religion :* Raja Man Singh was an extremely religious-minded man and was a great devotee of Hindu gods and goddesses. Though himself a devout Hindu, he respected others' religions equally well. He was free from general narrow-mindedness, bigotry and superstition and believed in full toleration in matters of religion. This is borne out by a Qoranic verse, inscribed on one of the stone plates in Rohtas

<sup>6</sup> *Kachhwaha's Vansawali*, p. 51.

<sup>7</sup> Genealogical Table in the State Archives of Jaipur.

fort, which states : "There is no compulsion in religion. The Right Path is distinct from the Wrong".<sup>8</sup>

Raja Man Singh belonged to an age which was marked by new experiment in the domain of religion. Akbar had evolved "*Din Illahi*" known as "*Divine Faith*" which was a bold attempt indeed since he wanted thereby to establish throughout his empire one universal religion. Akbar naturally wanted that a trusted officer like Man Singh should adopt the religion of his master. But the Raja was made of a different stuff. He was the most obedient servant of his master in matters political but he was not prepared to budge an inch from his conviction in religious matters. Therefore, the attempt of the Emperor to bring Raja Man Singh to the fold of "*Din Illahi*" did not succeed. Badaoni notes that once in 1587 while Raja Man Singh was making preparations to proceed to take charge of Bihar, Hajipur and Patna.

"His Majesty having offered to him together with the Khan Khanan the cup of friendship, brought up the subject of "*Discipleship*" and proceeded to test Man Singh. The Kuar said without any ceremony "If Discipleship means willingness to sacrifice one's life I have already carried my life in my hand, what need is there of further proof ? If, however, the term has another meaning and refers to Faith, I certainly am a Hindu. If you order me to do so, I will become a Mussalman, but I know not the existence of any other religion than these two".

At this point the matter stopped and the Emperor did not question any further but sent him to Bengal".<sup>9</sup>

Thus, the Raja spurned the friendly offer of the Emperor and remained true to his religious conviction. This has been mentioned by Mr. Blochmann in his article in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. He states : "Akbar's disciples were chiefly Muhammadans. With the exception of Birbal who was a man of profligate habits, the name of no Hindu member is mentioned ..... The old Raja Bhagwan Das, Raja Todar Mal and Raja Man Singh remained staunch though Akbar had tried to convert them".<sup>10</sup>

Attempts were also made by Muslim saints to convert the Raja to Islam but they also proved abortive. Once while Raja Man Singh was proceeding to Bengal, he met a Muslim saint, named Shah Daulat, at Monghyr. The Shah said : "With all your wisdom and

<sup>8</sup> See p. 167 of the book.

<sup>9</sup> *Muntakhab-ni-Tawarikh*, translated by W. H. Lowe, 11, p. 370.

<sup>10</sup> *J. R. A. S. (Bengal)*, January-December, 1869.

intelligence, why don't you become a Muhammadan ? The Raja replied : 'In God's word it is stated that God's seal is on the heart of every one. If by your efforts the lock of evil destiny (*Shaqqawat*) is removed from my bosom, I will at once become a believer'. For a month the Raja waited hoping for this to happen, but as Islam was not in his destiny, there was no result'.<sup>11</sup> This incident suggests two aspects of Raja Man Singh's character, viz.,

- (i) He was quite liberal and tolerant in religious matters, so much so that he was prepared to accept Islam provided the right consciousness dawned upon him ;
- (ii) The Raja had made a thorough study of the Holy Quran and was fully conversant with its fundamentals ;

Raja Man Singh, as has already been said above, was a religious-minded man, extremely devoted to Hindu gods and goddesses. This is amply proved by the fact that he built a large number of temples in Bihar, Bengal and other parts of India. The Kachhwaha Raja raised a *Shiva* temple at Baikatpur in the Barh Subdivision of the district of Patna in Bihar. In this temple, besides the main deity which is called "*Bhavani Shankar*" there are the images of Lord Vishnu, Lord Ganesh and the Mother Goddess. The *farman* in possession of the chief priest of the temple gives us the information that Raja Man Singh had made ample provision for the upkeep and the maintenance of the Baikatpur Temple.

Raja Man Singh also built a beautiful *Mahadeva* (*Shiva*) temple at Manpur in Gaya town. Here also, like the Baikatpur temple in addition to the chief deity, which is called *Lord Nilkantha*, there are the images of Lord Vishnu, Lord Surya (Sun), Lord Ganesh and the Mother Goddess.

Raja Man Singh also erected a small temple of *Sila Devi* or Mother Goddess within the Amber fort. He brought the image of *Sila Devi* from eastern Bengal and installed it as the protecting deity in a temple at the gate of the Amber palace. The stone plate<sup>12</sup> attached to the temple indicates that Raja Man Singh had brought *Sila Devi* from the possession of Kedar Raja who was a feudal chief under Raja Pratapaditya, the powerful king of Jessore in eastern Bengal. This fact has also been substantiated by the *Kachhwaha's Vansawali*.<sup>13</sup>

Tradition affirms that Raja Man Singh had installed the images of Hanuman and Sango Baba at Chandpole (Jaipur) and Sanganer<sup>14</sup>

<sup>11</sup> *Maqasir-ul-umara*, translated by H. Beveridge, II, p. 56.

<sup>12</sup> The Stone Plate does not appear to be very old. It seems to have been installed by some later Raja of Jaipur.

<sup>13</sup> *Kachhwaha's Vansawali*, p. 49(b).

<sup>14</sup> Sanganer is six miles' west of Jaipur.

respectively and these are still held in high esteem by the people of Jaipur.<sup>15</sup>

Mr. Beglar, who had undertaken a survey tour of the Province of Bengal in the year 1872-73, has mentioned in his report that Raja Man Singh was responsible for the construction and repairs of a large number of temples which are still extant in different subdivisions of the States of Bihar and Bengal. But Mr. Beglar has not been able to enlighten us as to what deities these temples contained. Similar is the case with the temples which were built by Raja Man Singh in Rohtas fort. The idols have been removed by unknown invaders and looters.

However, all these facts show that Raja Man Singh was a devout Hindu and an ardent worshipper of chief Brahmanical gods and goddesses. But it does not help us to arrive at any conclusion about the personal religion of the Kachhwaha Raja. Thus, we are confronted with the question as to which cult the Raja belonged.

Dr. H. Vedantshastri holds the opinion that Raja Man Singh was a follower of Bengal School of Vaisnavism which had made considerable headway in the latter half of the 16th century. In support of his statement, he points out that the temple of Govinddeva at Brindaban was built by Raja Man Singh at the bidding of Raghu-nath Bhatta, one of the six Goswamis of Mathura who was an ardent exponent of Bengal School of Vaisnavism.<sup>16</sup>

Dr. Vedantshastri has not argued his case well. Save and except the Govinddeva temple at Brindaban he has not quoted any other evidence of importance which establish his contention that the Kachhwaha Raja belonged to the Vaisnavite school of Bengal.

Let us study the view-point of Dr. Shastri on its own merit. It has already been seen that Raja Man Singh remained in the Eastern Provinces from 1587 to 1605, i.e. for about 18 years. During this period, Bengal was passing through a religious revival called Bengal Vaisnavism. It appealed intensely to the minds of the common people of Bengal with the result that a large number of people came under its fold. "The Bengal Vaishnavas are worshippers mainly of Radha-Krishna. According to this school, the Radha-Krishna cult seems to have originated with Madhavendra Puri Gos-

<sup>15</sup> People of Jaipur often recite this couplet :

"सांगोनेर को संगो थाबो, जयपुर ( चांदपुर ) का हनुमान !  
धन्वंतर की शिला-देवी, लाया राजा मान ॥"

"It was Raja Man Singh who brought the images of Sango Baba of Sanganer, Hanuman of Jaipur and Sila Devi of Amber."

<sup>16</sup> Proceedings of the 18th session of the Indian History Congress, held at Calcutta in 1955, pp. 182 following.

vami, from whom, his disciple, Ishwar Puri Gosvami inherited it. He transmitted it to his disciple, Sri Chaitanya, whose followers developed it into a full-grown system with a philosophy and theology of its own".<sup>17</sup> In the closing years of the 16th century, Srinivasa, a Bengalee Brahmin and Narattam Das, a Bengalee Kayastha, were initiated into the Chaitanya cult. They propagated this new faith in Bengal with missionary zeal. Shyamnandan, another disciple of Sri Chaitanya, took upon himself the task of popularizing the Bengal Vaisnavism in Orissa and he carried out his task with devotion and sincerity. Before these preachers, the Goswamis of Brindaban more especially Raghunath Bhatt and Gopala Bhatt preached the message of Lord Chaitanya from Brindaban and exercised great influence in Northern India.<sup>18</sup>

In this period of Brahminical revival, when the Chaitanya cult was making great headway in the Eastern Provinces, Raja Man Singh came in 1587 as the governor of Bengal. It is quite natural for him to have been influenced by the new cult. There is no wonder that under its influence, the Raja completed the famous temple of Govinddeva at Brindaban in 1590. The attraction for the Chaitanya cult must have increased considerably when the Kachhwaha Raja was transferred to Bengal in 1594. At that time Bengal was in a religious upheaval. The cult of the Divine Love was attracting to its fold hundreds and thousands of people in Bengal and Orissa. The Bengal governor was completely led away by this religious drift. Thus the descendant of Raja Ramchandra of epic fame became a devotee of Lord Krishna. This accounts for the fact that the pictures of Radha and Krishna are painted on one of the sandal shutters of the personal apartment of Raja Man Singh's palace at Amber. Besides, the Govinddeva temple at Brindaban, the Raja built the Jagatsiromany temple at Amber and installed the images of Radha and Girdhar Gopal. Further, it appears that not only Raja Man Singh but his brothers also came under the influence of Bengal Vaisnavism. It is evident from the fact that the *farman* issued by Raja Madhava Singh, a brother of the Kachhwaha Raja, for the Baikatpur temple in Bihar starts with the words "*Radha Vallava.....*".<sup>19</sup>

It is not strange that Raja Man Singh was initiated into Bengal Vaisnavism but it looks rather surprising that he did not become an out-and-out Vaisnavite of Bengal School exclusively devoted to the

<sup>17</sup> *The Cultural Heritage of India*, II, Sri Ram Krishna Centenary Memorial, p. 152.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 152-53.

<sup>19</sup> See Appendix 'B'.

worship of Radha and Krishna. The installation of the image of *Sila Devi* in a temple within the Amber fort by Raja Man Singh during the very period when Chaitanya's cult exercised complete sway on him definitely shows that the Bengal cult tended to sit but lightly on the Kachhwaha Raja. Further, in the temple of Jagat-siromany besides the images of Radha and Girdhar Gopal there is a beautiful image of Lord Vishnu said to have been installed by Raja Man Singh. Moreover, in the *farman* of Baikatpur temple, the words "*Radhaballava*" are followed by the words "*Bhavani Shankar*".<sup>20</sup> This indicates the dual allegiance of the Kachhwaha royal family. Besides, when one visits the personal apartment of Raja Man Singh in the Amber palace one is struck by the orthodox atmosphere of the place. There are two rooms adjoining each other—one for resting purposes and the other for meditation and worship. In front of the *Puja* room, there is a big *Tulsi Chaura*—about 8' high and 10' in circumference. The whole thing presents an orthodox outlook—one *Tulsi Chaura*, a *Puja* room and the temple of the mother-goddess at the main entrance of the palace.<sup>21</sup> Further-more, most of the temples which the Kachhwaha Raja built, renovated or repaired contained the images of Brahmanical gods and goddesses, e.g. Lord Vishnu, Lord Shiva, Lord Surya, Lord Ganesh and the Mother Goddess but not of Lord Krishna. This is significant when we consider from this point of view that these temples were built by Raja Man while he was the governor of the Eastern Provinces. Moreover, like an orthodox Hindu he performed *Sradh* (Homage to departed souls) of his parents at Gaya for forty-five days.<sup>22</sup>

After considering the above mentioned facts, we can safely surmise that Raja Man Singh was a believer in orthodox Hinduism though he was partly influenced by Bengal School of Vaisnavism in the latter part of his life. Thus, we can conclude that the Kachhwaha Raja was a follower of orthodox Brahmanism and held all the Hindu gods and goddesses in high esteem.

Raja Man Singh was intensely religious in his temperament and progressive and liberal in his outlook. His bilingual *farman* issued for the '*Mausoleum of Mamu-Bhanja*'<sup>23</sup> indicates that he had great respect for the Muslim shrines and mosques. The sepulchre of the Kachhwaha Raja in the royal cemetery at Amber is indicative of his cosmopolitan outlook on religion. Within the cenotaph, all the gods and goddesses of Hindu mythology besides Lord Buddha and Lord

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>21</sup> See Illustration Nos. 11, 12 & 15.

<sup>22</sup> *Jaipur Pansawali*, in the State Archives of Jaipur. p. 41(b).

<sup>23</sup> See Appendix 'A'.

Mahavir are painted. It suggests that Raja Man Singh truly imbibed the liberal spirit of his master-Emperor Akbar—and was tolerant in his outlook in the real sense of the term.

*Personality of Raja Man Singh :* Raja Man Singh was a distinguished noble in the court of Akbar and rendered highly valuable services for the consolidation of the Mughal imperial authority. It would not be at all an exaggeration to say that he was one of the main pillars on which rested the edifice of the Mughal State. The contributions of the Kachhwaha Raja were fully appreciated by Akbar and the latter conferred on him the titles of 'Farzand' (son) and 'Mirza Raja'. The Emperor was not satisfied with conferring such titles alone but he rightly thought that the services of Raja Man Singh were of supreme importance. Therefore, as it has already been pointed out, Emperor Akbar boldly took a step which no other Muslim king had done so far. Raja Man Singh was raised to 7000 *mausab* which was an honour reserved for the princes of the blood royal. The Raja on his part fully justified the confidence reposed in him. He served the Emperor loyally, sincerely and honestly. His services were requisitioned by the Emperor in most difficult times but he never swerved from the path of duty. The Raja was a sincere well-wisher of the Mughal Empire.

Raja Man Singh was a brave warrior and a successful general. He was at his best in the field of battle. He was the hero of the battle of Haldighat which at once gave him recognition as one of the foremost commanders of the Mughal Empire. But his military successes in the battle did not cause vanity in his mind. He was conscious of the dignity and prestige of Rana Pratap and did not permit the Mughal army to pursue and harass that gallant Rajput. For this he had to incur the displeasure of the Emperor but he never expressed any regret for what he had done.

Raja Man Singh proved a dauntless warrior and an able administrator while he was in the north-west frontier region of India from 1578 to 1585. He was successful in keeping the turbulent Roshaniyas and the Tarikis of that region under check for the time being and made them feel the weight of Mughal authority. The Raja may be rightly credited for bringing Kabul under the hegemony of the Mughals and thus extending the frontier of the Empire up to Afghanistan. He established peace and order in that far-off land and successfully administered the country for over two years, (August 1585 to December 1587).

Raja Man Singh's work in Bihar has been rightly summed up by Abdul Fazl who observes : "When the Raja was sent from the Court to the province of Bihar, he united ability with courage and

genius with strenuous action. By His Majesty's fortune he administered the province excellently".<sup>24</sup> The turbulent Afghans of the Eastern Provinces had never accepted the imperial authority in spite of the untiring efforts of the Mughal Governors of Bihar and Bengal. It was left to the Kachhwaha Raja to bring them under the Mughal subjection and this he accomplished with great credit. Further the Raja added the Province of Orissa to the Mughal Empire, its frontier now extended up to Cooch Bihar. Poet Harnath composed a poem in honour of Raja Man's successes in Cooch-Bihar for which the poet was awarded a sum of Rupees Ten Lacs.<sup>25</sup> A few lines may be quoted :

“जात जात गुन अधिक हो भुनी न अजहुँ कान ।  
राधव वारिधि वाधियो हेला भारतो मान ॥

*Translation :* It is seldom heard that the descendants should possess more of virtue than their ancestors. Raja Ramchandra had to ford the ocean for going to *Lanka* (Ceylon) but Raja Man conquered *Hella*<sup>26</sup> (which was still more difficult task).<sup>27</sup>

Raja Man Singh successfully administered the province of Bengal for more than a decade. When he came to Bengal in 1594 as its governor, he found the province seriously threatened by the Afghan menace. He ruthlessly stamped out the rebellion and dashed to pieces the Afghan dream of establishing their own supremacy over Bengal. In order to ensure a better administration and stable government he founded a new capital for Bengal named *Akbarnagar* which later on came to be called *Rajmahal*. It was indeed a singular achievement on his part and very few Mughal governors had a contribution like this to their credit.

Unfortunately I have not come across any detailed account of contemporary writers about the condition of the people of Bengal during the governorship of Raja Man Singh that might have enabled us to judge the administrative capability of the Raja. But we find some stray references here and there from which we can draw our conclusion. One such contemporary source is “*Kavi Kankhan Chandi*” in which Poet Mukundram has given a description of Bengal during the time of the Kachhwaha Raja. The following is the liberal rendering of the poet's account :

“.....In the township of Salimabad there was an honest Raja named Neogy Gopinath. We lived and tilled lands in

<sup>24</sup> *Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, III, p. 872.

<sup>25</sup> *Vir Vinod*, II, p. 1282.

<sup>26</sup> *Hella* was the former name of Cooch Bihar.

<sup>27</sup> *Vir Vinod*, II p. 1282.

Dharmania, in his *taluk* for six or seven generations. All praise to Raja Man Singh, the bee to the Lotus foot of Vishnu, the king of Gaur, Banga and Utkal : During the reign of the above Man Singh, on account of the sins of the people, Muhammed Sharif got the *Khilat*. Rajada became his minister, the merchants and traders became alarmed, and the regime became the foe of Brahmins and Vaishnavas. They measured lands, by placing ropes on the angular sides of the fields, and they measured 15 *cottahs* to a bigha. They disregarded the cries of the raiyats. They came to be the cause of death of many people, and they entered unculturable lands as culturable. They exacted compensation, without conferring any corresponding benefits. The *Poddar* became *Jam* (death). For every rupee they gave you 2½ annas less, while they took for themselves as interest one pie per day per rupee.

"A khoja, who in his angry mood paid no sort of regard to the poverty of the people became *Dihidar* (a village official). His anger could only be appeased by presents of rupees, but there was nobody to buy your cow and paddy.....".<sup>21</sup>

The poem of Poet Mukundram presents a picture of Bengal during the time of Raja Man Singh. If we closely study the above mentioned account in the light of reforms introduced by Raja Todar Mal and Azaduddaulah between 1575-83 we shall come to the conclusion that the poet was not a victim to the alleged administration of Raja Man Singh but he was a sufferer of the strict enforcement of the revenue laws of Akbar's revenue ministers. The new regulations provided for the depreciation of the current coins and held 'Batta' as valid. It also enjoined the Mughal officers to measure the land strictly and to convert the waste land into arable land. The improved land was to be assessed at a higher rate.<sup>22</sup> This forced the poor poet to leave the ancestral home where he and his ancestors had lived happily for the last six or seven generations and to go elsewhere. In this circumstance, it is quite natural that Mukundram should be extremely critical and unduly severe about the administration of Raja Man Singh who happened to be the governor of the province at that time. It is quite possible that there might be some cases of individual hardships or official tyranny on the part of the Mughal officers of Bengal. Besides, it has to be admitted that there must have been some looseness in the administration when Raja Man Singh kept himself away from Bengal leaving the province in the charge of his deputy. But the coloured statement

<sup>21</sup> Mukund Ram, *Kavi Kankanchandi*, Introduction.

<sup>22</sup> *tin-i-dkhari*, translated by H. Blochmann, Vol. I, pp. 32-33.

of Poet Mukundram cannot justify the conclusion that the administration of Raja Man Singh was unsatisfactory and the people were unhappy. On the contrary, it denotes that the official regulations of the State were strictly enforced by the officers of the *Subah*.

We get some idea of the economic condition of Bengal during the viceroyalty of Raja Man Singh from the following account of *Pere du Jarric* :

"The country is very rich in food stuff, it produces especially a great quantity of rice for, besides the supply needed for the kingdom, every year they obtain from it many ship-loads which they carry to diverse parts of India which are less well supplied. They also collect there much ginger, sugar and above all great quantities of cotton with which they make fine cloth and other very neat stuffs which are sold all over India and even in Portugal.....".<sup>30</sup>

*Raja Man Singh :*

*Patron of learning.*

Raja Man Singh was also a great patron of Learning. He distributed large sums of money by way of rewards and gifts to the renowned poets of his time. He was intimately connected with the noted poets of Akbar's Darbar, for example, Dursajee, Hol Rai, Brahmabhatt, Gang and others.<sup>31</sup> He gave lacs of rupees to Poet Harnath who composed poems in his honour. His chief bard, Hapa Barahat, had in his possession one hundred elephants and a large number of retinue.<sup>32</sup> There is an interesting story which illustrates the respect and esteem which Raja Man Singh had for Poet Gang. It is said that a beggar approached Poet Gang for some aid for the marriage of his daughter. The poet took pity on the beggar and at once wrote a letter composed in verses in the name of Raja Man in which he recommended that a sum of Rs. 1000/- be given to the bearer. The letter ran thus :

"सिद्धि श्री मानसिंहजी की कीरति विरुद्ध,  
महें तो लो राज रहो जो लो भूमि चिर बेनी है,  
"रावरी कुसल हम सिषुन समेत चाहे धरी धरी  
पलपल यहाहु सुचैनी है ।  
हुंडी एक तुम पर कही है हजार की सो कविन,  
को राखो मानसाह जोग देनी है,

<sup>30</sup> A missionary tour in Bengal in 1598, Bengal Past and Present, Vol. XIV, 1917.

<sup>31</sup> Agrawal, S. P., *Hindi Poets of Akbar's Darbar*, pp. 23, 34-35, 119.

<sup>32</sup> *Vir Vinod*, II, p. 1283.

पोहिए प्रमान मान वंस मे सपूत मान,  
रोक भिनी देन जसा लेते लिख देनी है ॥<sup>33</sup>

*Translation :*

"May the rule of Sri Man Singh, who is endowed with fame and celebrity endure till the end of the world. I wish your well-being as well as the well-being of your children every moment. Here, too, there is well-being all the time. I send a cheque of Rupees One Thousand unto you. Do please preserve the dignity of the Poet, which action is worthy of a monarch. Man Singh, thou art the very proof of dignity in this earth, you are a worthy scion of your dynasty. One need only write to you, you bestow countless fortunes on people peremptorily and earn great celebrity, thereby".

The beggar approached Raja Man Singh with that letter of demand and he was immediately paid the amount requested for. The Kachhwaha Raja had great respect for Poet Gang and he was not satisfied with the payment of that small amount of money. He wrote back to the poet that a man of his eminence should have been ashamed of demanding such a paltry amount, which indirectly meant that the poet should have demanded more. Raja Man's letter contained only two lines in verse, viz. :

"इतमें हम भारताज हैं उत्तै आप कविराज,  
हुन्डी लिखत हाजार की लिखत न आई लाज ॥<sup>34</sup>

*Translation :* "Hither I am a monarch ; thither you are a king among poets. Did not you experience shame in ordering a cheque of one thousand only on me" ?

Poet Gang was highly impressed by this magnanimous display of affection and esteem for him by Raja Man Singh whom he eulogised in the following beautiful verse :

"भूकृत कृपान भयदान ज्यों उदात्त मान एकन ते,  
कह कवि गंग तेरे बल की वगार लगी फुटी,  
गजघटा धनघटा ज्यों सरद की,  
एते मान सेनित की नदिया छमड़ी चली,  
रही न निसानी कहु भाहि,  
गौरी गहयो गनपति गनपति गहयो गौरी,  
गौरीपति गहयो पूजलपति वरद की ॥<sup>35</sup>

<sup>33</sup> *Chands* of Poet Gang, No. 138.

<sup>34</sup> *Yagyik* collection.

<sup>35</sup> *Chands* of Poet Gang, No. 157.

*Translation* : "Swords bend in the battle-field like lightnings and each produces a flash of golden colour. Poet Gang says that the moment, the wind of Man's prowess began to blow, the whole army of the elephants dispersed like the clouds of winter. Due to the blows of Man, a river of blood began to overflow the battle-field. Consequently there was trace of nothing else on the earth. Having fallen into a state of consternation *Gauri* caught hold of *Ganesh* and *Ganesh* caught *Gauri* and *Shiva* caught hold of the tail of his ox for safety".

*Raja Man Singh* : Raja Man Singh was not only a patron of the arts but was himself a man of letters. He was held in high

*A man of letters* : esteem for his learning by both Hindus and Muslims.

*letters* : Once one Saiyyid remonstrated with a Brahman trying to prove that Islam was superior to Hinduism. Failing to reach a settlement they both agreed to refer the issue to Raja Man Singh for his arbitration. The Raja hesitated at first in giving any verdict for he said : "If I call Islam superior you will dub me as the parasite of the Emperor and if I pronounce to the contrary you will charge me with partiality". In spite of this when they pressed for his opinion, the Raja observed :

"I have no learning, but with regard to the Hindu religion which is so old (I see that) if there are perfect men in it, they are burnt as soon as they are dead, and their ashes dispersed to the winds. If anyone goes there at night, there is a fear of his being influenced by the demons (*Jins*). In Islam there are in every town and city, saints at rest, and people receive blessings from them and various assemblies are held there (in their shrines)".<sup>55</sup> It was really a bitter satire on Hindu's beliefs and usages.

During the age of Akbar, Persian was the official language of the State but this glamour of the State language did not induce the Kachhwaha Raja to forget the language of the Vedas. Raja Man Singh had a great regard for Sanskrit and got his inscriptions written both in Persian and Sanskrit languages. The Stone Pillar Inscriptions of Amber and the Sanskrit Inscriptions of Rohtas fort<sup>57</sup> and Govind-deva temple at Brindaban<sup>58</sup> are indicative of the fact that Raja Man Singh had great respect for Sanskrit. Besides, another singular achievement of the Raja was his issuing the official *farmans* in two

<sup>55</sup> *Maasir-ul-umara*, translated by H. Beveridge, II, p. 56.

<sup>57</sup> See pp. 16 and 168 of the book.

<sup>58</sup> Appendix 'C'.

languages viz., Persian and Hindusthani.<sup>39</sup> Thus Raja Man Singh contributed towards the evolution of Hindusthani prose which may be said to be the parent of the Kaithi variety of writing peculiar to the State of Bihar. Further, it marks a departure from the *farmans* of Shershah<sup>40</sup> which contain the text in Persian language and script with the exact reproduction of the original in Hindi script immediately below.

*Raja Man Singh :* Raja Man Singh possessed an extremely generous temperament. There were many instances of the Raja's generosity, viz., when the Deccan campaign was assigned to Khan Jahan Lodi, there were fifteen *Punjhazaris* (of the rank of 5,000), owning flags and drums, such as Khan-khanan, Raja Man Singh, Mirza

Rustum Safavi, Asaf Khan Jafar and Sharif Khan *Amir-ul-umara* and 1700 auxiliary officers holding the ranks of 4,000 to 100. When owing to lack of supplies, there was such a scarcity in the Balaghat area that a seer of flour could not be had for a rupee, the Raja one day rose in the Assembly and earnestly said : 'If I were a Muhammadan, I would once everyday eat with you. As I have a grey beard, would you all accept from me the price of *pan-leaves*'. Before all the others, Khan-khanan put his hand on his head and answered, 'I accept the offer'. The others also concurred. The Raja gave Rs. 100/- to every *Punjhazari* and at that rate made daily allowances to every one down to the rank of one-hundred. Every night he put money in a purse with the name of the person on it, and sent one to each. For three or four months that this expedition lasted, he never once missed (to send such gifts). For the men of the camp until supplies (*Rasad*) arrived, he sold provisions at the rates prevailing at Amber. They saw that his wife *Kunwar Rani*, who was an expert manager, sent the provisions from his home. The Raja on his marches used to set up mosques and baths constructed of cloth for the Muhammadans and supplied daily one meal to every one of his followers".<sup>41</sup>

There is another example of the generosity of Raja Man Singh. One of his wives, Rani Gaur, was the daughter of Raja Gaur of Ajmer who was a great patron of learning. Once he gave such high rewards to one of his Court poets for some poems that his fame spread throughout Rajasthan. When his daughter heard of this

<sup>39</sup> Appendix 'A'.

<sup>40</sup> The photographic facsimiles of which will be found in Oriental College Magazines, Lahore.

<sup>41</sup> *Masir-ul-umara*, translated by H. Beveridge, II, pp. 55-56.

munificence of her father, she was full of rejoicings and held a feast to celebrate the occasion. On being asked by the Raja as to what was the occasion of the festivity, the queen narrated the story of her father's munificent grant to men of letters with great pride. The Raja replied calmly : "There is nothing unusual in it. The rulers very often liberally reward the learned men". The *Rani* said, "Maharaja ! There is difference between what one says or does". On hearing this, Raja Man Singh kept quiet. But he secretly instructed his men to keep articles of present worth six crores of rupees ready for being distributed to the learned Pandits. He also directed that six poets be made ready by the next morning for receiving the rewards. The order of Raja Man Singh was carried out in full. Next day Raja Man Singh distributed lands and goods worth six crores of rupees to six of his Court poets but did not make any fuss about it. When the queen came to know of it, she felt ashamed and apologized for her vain talk.<sup>42</sup>

*Translation :* "Leave me, I do come, I do come, I do come".

Raja Man Singh was thus endowed with all the qualities which go to make a man great. He was indeed a powerful grandee and a superb general of the Mughal Court.

<sup>42</sup> *Vir Vinod*, II, p. 1285.

<sup>43</sup> Muhammad Hussain, Maulana, *Darbar-i-Akkbari*, p. 565.

## CHAPTER XI

### RAJA MAN SINGH'S CONTRIBUTION TO ARCHITECTURE

Raja Man Singh was not only an outstanding military general of the Mughal Empire but he was also a great lover of art and architecture. His constant engagement in warfare and other State activities did not prevent him from developing a taste for artistic objects. He surmounted some handicaps which might otherwise have impeded the development of art and architecture. The best talents in the field of architecture were attracted to the imperial capital at Agra and, therefore, the provincial governors or nobles had to face tremendous difficulties in securing the services of able artisans and workers for the construction of local buildings. Sri Manmohan Chakravarty rightly observes : "With governors removable at pleasure, with the surplus incomes all drawn into the Emperors' coffers or misappropriated by the local authorities, with the best artisans attracted to the great capitals—Agra and Delhi—there was decline of architecture in Bengal."<sup>1</sup> Notwithstanding these disadvantages, Raja Man Singh built a large number of imposing buildings in the shape of temples, mosques, palaces and forts etc.

The palace at Amber<sup>2</sup> is an object of architectural beauty among the Rajput's palaces at Rajasthan. It was commenced by Raja Man Singh and was completed by Jai Singh I (1625-1666 A. D.)<sup>3</sup> The palace has not that stamp of Hindu originality which is the characteristic of the earlier palaces of Rajputana, for example, the palace at Gwalior, but it bears a strong impress of the Mughal influence. The *Diwan-i-Am* of the Amber palace and some of its domes and arches—all are in Mughal style of architecture. But there is much in the palace which is in the traditional Rajput style.

Raja Man Singh built a beautiful palace along with the *Diwan-i-Am* within the fort of Amber. It is the earliest piece of architecture in the capital of the Kachhwahas. The palace is situated on a rocky hill and reflects itself in the mirror of the lake at its base. When one enters the fort of Amber, one comes across the *Diwan-i-Am*<sup>4</sup> which was built by Raja Man Singh. It was an imitation of the *Diwan-i-Am* of Agra Fort and like the Imperial

<sup>1</sup> *J. R. A. S., Bengal*, Vol. VI, No. 1, January, 1910, p. 33.

<sup>2</sup> See Illustrations Nos. 1 & 2.

<sup>3</sup> Ferguson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, Vol. II, p. 176 (published in 1910).

<sup>4</sup> See Illustration No. 3.

Audience Hall, it was made of red stone. Pillars are almost of the same style except the brackets which are of the later Hindu style. Local tradition affirms that complaints were made to Akbar that in the construction of his own Audience Hall, the Raja had imitated the imperial *Diwan-i-Am* of Agra and in order to avoid the suspicion of the Emperor, the Raja got the pillars made of red stone replaced by marble pillars which are of inferior type. The roof of the *Diwan-i-Am* has been made in *Ladao* style peculiar to Rajputana. The brackets are exquisitely carved out and they look quite supreme.

The main gate of the Amber palace<sup>5</sup> is magnificent. It is highly sculptured and looks very attractive. It was constructed by Jai Singh.<sup>6</sup> But during the time of Raja Man Singh there must have been a gate at this place which was of cruder type. This is apparent on account of the *varandah* on both sides of the main gate which is covered by an old passage which looks crude and primitive.<sup>7</sup>

Behind the double-storeyed palace of Sawai Jai Singh, is the old palace of Raja Man Singh. Raja Man Singh seems to have inherited the traditional taste of the Rajputs i.e. a taste for simplicity and unostentatiousness and this accounts for the comparative absence of art and floral designs within his palace.

When one enters the old palace of Raja Man Singh, one comes across the *Baradari*<sup>8</sup> which is of a crude type just by the side of Zanana Mahal constructed later by Sawai Jai Singh. The window of the terrace commanded a strategic view—one side gave view of the Delhi Road and the other that of the Ajmer Road and the front gave the view of the military posts (परकोष्ट) where the pickets were posted. The principal apartments of the palace are arranged so as to afford views over the lake and into the country beyond. Some of the rooms are rectangular while others are square but all of them are made of stone. The size of the rectangular rooms is about 15' x 18' while that of the square rooms is about 15' x 15'. These rooms are covered by domes. The niches inside the domes are done in saracenic style. The arches are also in the same style. The roofs of the rooms are 20 ft. in height. In spite of its being old, the paintings within the room are still bright and are quite distinct.<sup>9</sup> Steps are long and stiffy. It is breath-taking job to ascend the stairs which are spiral.

There were separate apartments for the queens of Raja Man Singh in the palace. Each apartment had two rooms joined by a

<sup>5</sup> See Illustration No. 4.

<sup>6</sup> Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, II, p. 176.

<sup>7</sup> See Illustration No. 5.

<sup>8</sup> See Illustration No. 6.

<sup>9</sup> See Illustration No. 7.

*Varandah*. The rooms are rectangular,<sup>10</sup> their size being 15' x 18'. One room was meant for bath and the other was a living apartment. There are twelve apartments in the first storey while other twelve are on the ground floor. There was one common corridor which passed through all these apartments. There was a common *Baradari*<sup>11</sup> located in the centre of a very big courtyard downstairs. Its size is about 200' x 200'. It appears that all the queens used to meet in this *Baradari* on certain festive occasions.

The inside portion of the palace has been made in perfect Hindu style. Arches are filled by brackets like those in later Gupta period. The pavilion in the middle has been done in Rajput style with tapering pillars and arches which are peculiarly Rajput and were in fashion from the 15th century onwards in Rajputana. The six balconies<sup>12</sup> also do not bear any trace of Muslim artistic influence. The Brackets, the lattice work, their pillars and domes—each has been topped by an inverted lotus flower which are in Hindu style.

Raja Man Singh had his personal apartments in the palace. It is a small unostentatious structure consisting of *Dohra-Tiwara* (in Rajasthani) or Double *Varandah*.<sup>13</sup> The first *varandah*, made of marble, is faced by two rooms on opposite sides. One in the north-east served as his prayer-room and the other as his bed-room. The bed-room had sandal shutters now protected by new shutters made of glass. The shutters are painted with the pictures of Hindu gods like *Radha* and *Krishna*. On one corner of the shutter was the picture of the Moon. From this personal apartment of Raja Man Singh *varandah* goes all around. The lower *varandah* is made of red stone. There is a big raised platform for the *Tulsi-plant*<sup>14</sup> in front of the prayer room.

In the *Baradari* situated on the outer-skirts of the palace below there are the apartments made for slave girls, Secretaries, Dress-keepers, Head woman and others. In this part of the palace, there are domes, the interior portions of which are Muslim. In the pillars which are located here, the upper portion is thick and the lower portion is slim.<sup>15</sup>

It looks rather strange that the residential palace of Raja Man Singh at Amber was built in a simple style. It did not involve any very complicated, elaborate and ornamental style which is to be found in the double-storeyed palace of Sawai Jai Singh. But the *Jagatsiro-*

<sup>10</sup> See Illustration No. 8.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid. No. 9.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid. No. 10.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid. No. 11.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid. No. 12.

<sup>15</sup> Based on personal observation.

many temple belonging to that age is highly ornamental and decorative in its architectural design. The reasons for the same appear to be that the princely munificence and artistic skill were then lavished not on personal residences but on places of worship, the idea being that the House of God should be as beautiful as human skill can produce. This accounts for the beauty and elegance of the numerous religious monuments which have survived the barbarity of the iconoclasts and the ravages of the time.

The *Jagatsiromany temple*<sup>16</sup> is one of the brilliant specimens of Raja Man Singh's architecture. It is located in a remote corner of the village of Amber. It is the most beautiful piece of architecture in Jaipur. The whole building is made of marble. Local traditions affirm that the temple was constructed by Rani Kanakawati—the chief wife of the Kachhwaha Raja—in memory of her late lamented son, Kuar Jagat Singh. This fact has been further corroborated by the *Kachhwaha's Vansawali* which notes : "the *Jagatsiromany temple* was built by Rani Kanakawati to perpetuate the memory of her son —Jagat Singh."<sup>17</sup>

The temple is situated on a raised platform which is about 15 feet in height. The temple is approached by a long and stiffy staircase. There is a big entrance gate called "*Toran Dwar*".<sup>18</sup> The gate is highly artistic and full of beautiful sculptures. Two big elephants made of marble are placed on either side of the gate. There is a "*Garura temple*"<sup>19</sup> in front of the main temple. Various images of Hindu gods and goddesses are carved out on the gate of the Garura temple, viz., the images of *Radha-Krishna*, *Shankar*, *Vishnu*, *Bhagwati*, *Ganesh* and others. The main temple, according to the chief Priest, cost Raja Man Singh a sum of Rs. 9 lacs and 72 thousand. Like the Garura Temple, the gate of the main sanctum is elaborately carved and painted with beautiful pictures of mythological gods and goddesses, for example, *Ramavtar*, *Krishnavtar*, *Varahavtar*, etc. The shutters are made of sandal and look quite old. The main sanctum is rectangular in size about 15' long and 10' wide. It contains the images of *Radha* and *Girdhar-Gopal*<sup>20</sup> and that of *Lord Vishnu*. The figures of *Lord Vishnu* and *Radha* are made of white stone but the image of *Girdhar-Gopal* is carved out of jet black stone. These are artistically designed and look very attractive and life-like. The image of *Lord Vishnu* is permanently

<sup>16</sup> Illustration Nos. 18, 19 & 20.

<sup>17</sup> *Kachhwaha's Vansawali*, p. 39.

<sup>18</sup> See Illustration No. 18.

<sup>19</sup> See Illustration No. 19.

<sup>20</sup> The local tradition avers that the images of *Radha* and *Girdhar-Gopal* were brought by Raja Man Singh from Chittor. These were the same idols whom Mira, a great devotee of Lord Krishna, worshipped.

fixed on a raised stone platform whereas those of *Radha* and *Girdhar-Gopal* are loosely placed on a wooden platform and can be removed from one place to another.

The *Jagatsiromany temple* is a beautiful four-storeyed marble building and has been built after the Khujuraho style which had attained great popularity in Medieval times in Rajputana.

Raja Man Singh was also responsible for either repairing or constructing a large number of temples and mosques while he was the governor of the Eastern Provinces. Mr. J. D. Beglar<sup>21</sup> in course of his tour in a few districts of Bihar and Bengal in 1872-73, had come across several buildings in the shape of temples and mosques which were either built by Rajah Man Singh or belong to the period of his governorship. In Baidyanath Dham, a great Hindu religious centre of all-India attraction, Mr. Beglar discovered a group of temples enclosed within a paved courtyard. About these temples Mr. Beglar observes :

"From a study of the plans of the temples, it will be evident that of all the temples that now exist there is not a single one which can be considered as old or if old is in its original condition. The irregular groupings of the pillars that support the *mandaps* and the clumsy way in which the *mandaps* are joined on the sanctums, are proofs that these are subsequent additions, the sanctums may be ancient..... Judging from the form of the towers they cannot be ascribed to a period anterior to the Muhammadan conquest and this inference of their late age is confirmed by the painful want of relief and variety both in plan and elevation. As intolerance was a characteristic of the early Muhammadan conquest and as there is no record of any event which could render it possible that Hindu temples had been built at any time after the Muhammadan conquest and before the reign of Akbar and as lastly there is a distinct record of a Hindu general Man Singh exercising supreme authority in those parts during Akbar's reign, I consider it most probable that to Man Singh's period, these temples owe their construction".<sup>22</sup>

The arguments and the conclusion of Mr. Beglar are rather vague and it is difficult to accept his contention on the basis of what he states. But there are other evidences which go to establish the fact that Raja Man Singh visited Baidyanath Dham and built some

<sup>21</sup> An Assistant of the Archaeological Survey Department of India.

<sup>22</sup> Report of a Tour through the Bengal Provinces in 1872-73 by J. D. Beglar, Assistant, Archaeological Survey Department under Major General Cunningham, Volume VIII, pp. 137-39.

edifices. He had actually covered this route while he was proceeding to conquer Orissa in 1590.<sup>23</sup> Moreover, the road leading from the northern gate of the great temple (Baidyanath Dham) passes along the western edge of a large tank called "Siva Ganga" which measures about 900' x 600', the western portion of which has been cut off by an embankment on the top of which runs a road. It is noted in Santhal Parganas District Gazetteer that the embankment was put up by Raja Man Singh as the name of the Raja is associated with the western portion which is called "Man Sarovar". This portion has now silted up greatly and except during the rains, remains dry.<sup>24</sup>

In the course of his tour, Mr. Beglar discovered two temples in village Para in the headquarters subdivision of the recently abolished district of Manbhumi<sup>25</sup> in the State of Bihar. The two temples were situated to the east of and just outside the village. One was made of brick and the other of a soft kind of stone—both much weather-beaten and broken but full of interesting architectural and archaeological features. The temples were at one time plastered throughout but the peeling off of the plaster in most places while it is intact in other places shows that it was put on afterwards. The sculptured figures executed in the plaster coat do not correspond to the underlying sculpture on the bricks themselves and this proves the later date of the plaster coat. According to Mr. Beglar, these repairs were done during the time of Raja Man Singh.<sup>26</sup> This fact has also been mentioned in Manbhumi District Gazetteer in which Mr. Coupland affirms that both the temples were repaired during the time of Raja Man Singh probably by one Sri Purushottam Das of Brindaban.<sup>27</sup>

Mr. Beglar visited a village named Telkupi, situated in the district of Manbhumi in the State of Bengal. It is on the south bank of Damodar river. He saw a group of temples within a small space in that village and noticed that extensive repairs and alterations were done in those temples. The ornamentation executed in the plaster coat resembles that which is used in the plaster coating put on the brick temple at Para. It testifies to the fact that the repairs were done by Raja Man Singh or during the time of his governorship.<sup>28</sup> This has also been accepted by Mr. Coupland, writer of Manbhumi District Gazetteer.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>23</sup> See my thesis.

<sup>24</sup> Bengal District Gazetteer, (Santhal Parganas), by L.S.S. O' Malley, p. 381.

<sup>25</sup> The District of Manbhumi now forms a part of the State of Bengal.

<sup>26</sup> Report of a tour through the Bengal province by Mr. J. D. Beglar in 1872-73, p. 65.

<sup>27</sup> Bengal District Gazetteer, (Manbhumi), by H. Coupland, p. 282.

<sup>28</sup> Report of a Tour by J. D. Beglar, pp. 171-72.

<sup>29</sup> Bengal District Gazetteer, (Manbhumi), p. 287.

Mr. Beglar found a large temple in an enclosure, 120 ft. square, in the village of *Dhad Ki Taur* in the district of Manbhum. This temple had other subordinate temples round it, two to the north, two to the south, one in front and two at the back, making up seven small temples subordinate to the principal one in the middle. From the shallowness of the mouldings and the general appearance, especially of the subordinate temples and of their remains, the learned tourist ascribes them to the period of Raja Man Singh's governorship of Bengal.<sup>30</sup>

Referring to the two temples called "*Bari and Chhoti Pattandevi*" situated in the area called Patna City, Buchanan noted in his report of the Survey of the Patna District conducted in 1811-12 that the "*Chotti Pattandevi*" was placed in her present situation by Raja Man Singh while that noble was the governor of Bihar.<sup>31</sup>

There is a small pargana in Central India situated in the Bhopawar agency. It lies on the edge of the Vindhyan scrap. Manpur is the headquarters of the pargana and is situated on the Bombay-Agra highroad, 24 miles from Indore. The place is said to have derived its name from Raja Man Singh. It is said that after sustaining a defeat certain Rajputs of Raja Man Singh's army were ashamed to return home and settled in this district where they founded a village called Manpur in the name of their master. These Rajputs formed a section of the Amber army which accompanied Raja Man Singh to the south. It has already been said that Raja Man Singh did not fare well in the southern campaigns conducted during the reign of Jahangir. These Rajputs formed connections as time went on, with the Bhil women of the neighbourhood. They lost their caste and became merged in the general population.<sup>32</sup>

There is a *pargana* named Ambar which lies north-east of the Pakaur subdivision in the district of Santhal Parganas in Bihar. Tradition affirms that during the reign of Akbar a pestilence broke out in Kanauj, and a number of its inhabitants, both Hindus and Muhammadans, migrated to this part of the country, which was then covered with dense forest, and brought it under cultivation. When Raja Man Singh proceeded to put down the rebellion of Raja Pratapaditya of the Sundarbans, he was actively supported by one of the ancestors of the ex-proprietors of the pargana who was Brahman by caste. As a reward for his services, he was given a grant of this pargana in jagir by Raja Man Singh and out of gratitude the jagir

<sup>30</sup> Report of a Tour by J. D. Beglar, pp. 171-72.

<sup>31</sup> Journal of Francis Buchanan kept during the survey of the districts of Patna and Gaya in 1811-12, pp. 182-183.

<sup>32</sup> Imperial Gazetteer of India, Central India, p. 204, (published in 1908).

was named Ambar after the home-state of the Kachhwaha Raja which was Amber.<sup>33</sup>

Raja Man Singh built a beautiful temple at Varanasi, an important religious centre in Northern India. Jahangir has made reference to this temple in his 'Memoirs'. He writes :

"Raja Man Singh built a temple at Banaras. He spent 8 to 10 lacs of rupees from my father's treasury. The Hindus have great faith in the temple and they have this belief that those who die here go straight to heaven—no matter whether they are cats, dogs or men. I sent a reliable man to enquire everything about the temple and he reported that the Raja spent one lac rupees of his own in the construction of the temple. At this time, there is no other bigger temple than this. I enquired from my father as to why he had approved of the construction of the temple. He replied : 'I am the Emperor and the Emperors are the shadow of God on each. I should be bountiful to all.....' Jahangir further states : 'I ordered a bigger temple to be constructed near it'.<sup>34</sup>

The fact that Raja Man Singh built a temple at Varanasi has been further mentioned in the *Jaipur Vansawali*. It states : "Raja Man Singh built a big temple at Banaras for the worship of the people".<sup>35</sup>

Sri Sriram Sarma has written that Abdul Latif, a Muslim traveller, has, in his Diary compiled early in the reign of Jahangir, referred to the architectural beauty of this temple wishing very much that it had been built in the service of Islam rather than Hinduism.<sup>36</sup>

The exact location of the temple has not been traced out in the city of Varanasi. But there is a building called 'Man Mandir' (Temple of Man) situated on the bank of the Ganges just a few yards to the west of *Dasaswamedh Ghat* at Varanasi. The temple as mentioned in *Jahangirnamah* must have been situated in one portion of the building and that accounts for the fact that the whole building came to be known as 'Man Mandir'. Another question naturally crops up as to who was the chief deity of the temple. Varanasi is also called "Vishwanathpuri" because the chief deity of the city is Lord Vishwanath. Moreover, in other temples of Raja Man Singh, for example, Baikatpur or Manpur, the chief deities are 'Siva' or

<sup>33</sup> Bengal District Gazetteer, (Santhal Parganas), by L.S.S. O' Malley, p. 362.

<sup>34</sup> *Jahangirnamah*, (Persian MS), pp. 7(b), 8(a) & (b).

<sup>35</sup> *Vansawali* in the State Archives of Jaipur, p. 41.

<sup>36</sup> *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XIII, 1937, p. 312.

Besides, there are other paintings depicting mythological stories which include the marriage of *Lord Siva*. The paintings are getting dim but they represent the brilliant specimen of the local paintings which were in vogue in Bihar during the days of Raja Man Singh.

The most interesting feature of the temple is the main deity itself. It is *Gauri Shankar Mahadeva*, a single piece of black-stone bulging towards north. Generally, the image of *Lord Mahadeva* is a round piece of black stone quite smooth in features. But this deity is of a different type. It not only bulges towards north but there are fine lines carved on the body of the main figure which are highly pleasing to the eyes. The round body is *Shankar-Mahadeva* and the bulged part is *Mother Gauri*, wife of *Lord Mahadeva*, and hence the temple is called '*Gauri Shankar Temple*'. As is usually the case with Raja Man Singh's temples there is the image of *Lord Vishnu* also in the main sanctum. A small image of *Lord Ganesh* is placed in a niche at the top of the main entrance. Besides, there is the image of *Shitalajee* (Mother Goddess) in a separate temple to the east of the main temple.

The architecture of the temple is purely in Hindu style and is unique in some respects. The whole outer wall of the temple is divided into a number of lines in triangular form at mathematically well-planned and measured distances.<sup>40</sup> The petals of Lotus flower, the attractive circular domes, the beautiful *Baradari* are indicative of the fact that the builder of the temple—Raja Man Singh—was a man of highly artistic taste.

On all sides of the temple excepting the north, there are open terraces, made of stone and 20 ft. wide. They are reached by two stairs at the southern side. The steps are long and stiff and they seem to be the exact reproduction of the stairs of Amber palace.

There is a big open *pucca* courtyard in front of the temple<sup>41</sup> enclosed by terraces on three sides and with a *Yagyasala* in the centre. It is about 150 ft. long and 80 ft. wide. On the northern side, there once flowed the river *Ganges* (which has receded further north) but the beautiful *pucca Ghats* are still extant.<sup>42</sup> These *ghats* are divided into two parts, one for the ladies and the other for the males, and in the centre there is a raised platform, under which, tradition affirms, the ashes of the mother of Raja Man Singh were enshrined.<sup>43</sup> There are two small wells of 15 ft. diameter at the extreme ends of both the *ghats*.

<sup>40</sup> See Illustration No. 24.

<sup>41</sup> See Illustration No. 26.

<sup>42</sup> See Illustration No. 27.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*

The *parwana*<sup>53</sup> in possession of the chief Priest of the Baikatpur temple clearly indicates that Raja Man Singh had made ample provision for the maintenance of the temple.

Raja Man Singh erected at Brindaban, 5 miles north of Mathura in the State of Uttar Pradesh, a temple of *Govinddeva* or *Lord Krishna*.<sup>54</sup> Growse considered it to be "the most impressive religious edifice that Hindu art has ever produced at least in Upper India".<sup>55</sup> To Fergusson, "it appeared to be one of the most interesting and eloquent temples in India and the only one, perhaps from which a European architect might borrow a few hints".<sup>56</sup>

There is some confusion with regard to the date of the construction of the temple of *Govinddeva* at Brindaban. Growse and V. A. Smith affirm that the temple was built in 1590 A. D.<sup>57</sup> But the Stone Inscriptions on the *Govinddeva temple* state that it was erected in Samvat 34 (i.e. V. S. 1634) or 1577 A. D. In 1577, Man Singh was still a 'Kuar', holding the rank of a petty *mansabdar*. It is hardly expected of Kuar Man to have completed the construction of the massive temple of *Govinddeva* at Brindaban in 1577 A. D. when he himself was struggling hard to acquire an independent status of his own in the Mughal Court. But it is just possible that Man Singh started the construction of the temple either to commemorate the visit of Emperor Akbar to Brindaban<sup>58</sup> or under the influence of the *Gosains* of Brindaban<sup>59</sup> in 1577. But the work would have been considerably interrupted on account of the long absence of the Kachhwaha Raja to far off Punjab and Kabul. The construction work must have been resumed with greater vigour and speed from 1587 onwards when Man Singh was transferred to the Eastern Provinces. The *Govinddeva temple* is a huge structure of imposing dimensions. It must have taken at least 3 years to construct it. In any case, we may safely assume that though the construction of the temple was started in 1577, it was completed in 1590 by which time Raja Man Singh had been able to establish preponderant influence in the Mughal Court and was reckoned as one of the powerful grandees of the Mughal Empire.

The temple is built of red stone, which was commonly used in the buildings of Akbar's period, and it consists of a portico of the form of a cross which is still incomplete externally but its internal

<sup>53</sup> Appendix 'B'.

<sup>54</sup> Illustrations Nos. 28 & 29.

<sup>55</sup> Growse, *Mathura*, Chapter IX, (published in 1883).

<sup>56</sup> Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, II, p. 156.

<sup>57</sup> Growse, *Mathura*.

Smith, V. A., *Akbar The Great Mogal*, p. 446.

<sup>58</sup> Smith, V. A., *Akbar The Great Mogal*, p. 446.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*

portion is complete in all respects. It measures 117 ft. east and west and 105 ft. north and south and is covered by an arched roof built with radiating arches. The four sides of the portico are roofed by a vault of pointed form, consisting of over-lapping brackets. The external portion of the temple is really attractive. The angles are accentuated with singular force and decision and the openings are picturesquely arranged and pleasingly divided. Rightly remarks Mr. Fergusson : "It is the combination of vertical with horizontal lines, covering the whole surface that forms the great merit of the design".<sup>60</sup> The original design provided for five towers which were never completed.<sup>61</sup> Jahangir has also mentioned this fact in his 'Memoirs'. He says that the temple of Raja Man Singh at Mathura is still incomplete.<sup>62</sup>

The *Govinddeva temple* is an imposing structure and may be considered as one of the major contributions of Raja Man Singh in the field of architecture. The pillars in the *Baradari* are richly carved but the images thereon have been disfigured<sup>63</sup> either on account of the ravages of time or the barbarity of the iconoclasts. The Sanskrit<sup>64</sup> and the Hindi<sup>65</sup> inscriptions<sup>66</sup> are to be found on the western corner of the *Baradari*. The Sanskrit inscription is complete though many of the words have disappeared whereas the Hindi inscription is incomplete though quite distinct.<sup>67</sup> An inscription on the outer wall of the temple<sup>68</sup> tells us that the construction work of the temple of *Govinddeva* was executed by Govinddas, the architect of Delhi, who was the son of Manikchand Chapar, the obedient son of Kalyandas. The *Govinddeva temple* was built at a cost of half a million rupees by the Kachhwaha Raja.<sup>69</sup>

Raja Man Singh built a small fort at *Manihari*<sup>70</sup> which is north of Godda Subdivision in the district of Santhal Parganas in the State of Bihar. The story current among the people of the place is that when Raja Man Singh came to conquer Eastern Bengal from the Afghans, he encamped at *Manihari* and built a fort which was called *Mangarh* after him. The village contains several large tanks, at present silted up, from the beds of which as well as from other places in the village, images carved in stone and other architectural remains

<sup>60</sup> Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, II, p. 156.

<sup>61</sup> Sm. th. V. A., *Akbar The Great Mogul*, p. 446.

<sup>62</sup> *Jahangirnamah*, (MS), p. 8 (b).

<sup>63</sup> See Illustration No. 80.

<sup>64</sup> See Illustration No. 32.

<sup>65</sup> See Illustration No. 81.

<sup>66</sup> See Appendix 'C'.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>69</sup> *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XIII, p. 312.

<sup>70</sup> *Manihari* falls on the route from Bihar to Eastern Bengal.

have been obtained. These are associated with the memory of Raja Man Singh.<sup>71</sup>

One important piece of architecture associated with the memory of Raja Man Singh in the State of Jaipur is a large and well built Mughal gateway at Bairat.<sup>72</sup> Two cupolas on the upper storey of the gateway bear stucco paintings. These depict legendary scenes from the Sanskrit epics and scenes from the Mughal Court, e.g. the reception of Raja Man Singh by Emperor Akbar when the latter was out on hunting excursion to the Jaipur territory.<sup>73</sup>

Raja Man Singh also built the fort of Ramgarh, laid out a garden within it and sank a well inside the garden. This was carried out under the supervision of *Purohit* Pitamber, the son of reverend *Purohit* Padmakar.<sup>74</sup> The association of a Brahmin in construction work was a special feature with Raja Man Singh. The stone inscription in the fort of Rohtas states that Priest Sridhar, *Daroga* Balbhadra and architect, Ustad Mubarak were associated with the repairs of the fort. The Sanskrit inscription in the fort of Rohtas indicates that Sridhar was the family priest of Raja Man Singh.<sup>75</sup>

Raja Man Singh not only built palaces, temples and forts but he also founded three cities of importance. In 1595 while the Raja was marching from the new capital (Rajmahal) to chastize Isa Khan, the most powerful zamindar of Dacca, he encamped in Sherpur Herra (Mymensingh) on account of the approach of the rains. He built a fort there and named it Salimnagar.<sup>76</sup> A fine city developed round this fort.

In 1595, Raja Man Singh founded the city of Akbarnagar (now called Rajmahal) and transferred the capital of Bengal from Tanda to this place.<sup>77</sup> Rajmahal is in the district of Santhal Parganas in the State of Bihar. It has many edifices associated with the memory of Raja Man Singh. Near the Court building of Rajmahal stands the cemetery, on the west of it is the *Singdalan* or marble hall. Local tradition affirms that it was built by Raja Man Singh and is still known as 'Man Singh's Singdalan'. At present it is in a dilapidated condition. There are still three rooms of which the central one has an arched roof supported by six stone pillars which are finally polished.<sup>78</sup>

<sup>71</sup> *Santhal Parganas Gazetteer*, p. 395.

<sup>72</sup> Bairat is headquarter of a *talsil* in the Jaipur State. It connects Delhi with Jaipur, the distance from Jaipur being 52 miles.

<sup>73</sup> Archaeological Remains and Excavations at Bairat, p. 15.

<sup>74</sup> Stone Inscription in Amber Museum.

<sup>75</sup> Rohtas Stone Inscription. See page 281 of my thesis.

<sup>76</sup> *Akbarnama*, translated by H. Beveridge, III, p. 1043.

<sup>77</sup> The reasons of the transfer have already been explained. See page 91 of the book.

<sup>78</sup> *Santhal Parganas Gazetteer*, pp. 397-401.

About 50 yards away from the *Singdalan* is an old mosque in good preservation. According to local tradition, it was built by Raja Man Singh in two months' time to enable the Emperor to perform his worship when he visited Rajmahal in connection with the building of the *Jumma Masjid*.<sup>70</sup>

About 600 yards west of Akbarshahi mosque, there is a building known as *Baradwari* from the fact that it has 12 doorways (three on each side) and in the middle is an arched room. It is said that this building belonged to Fateh Jung Khan, a rich muhammadan zamindar. According to local tradition, he incurred the displeasure of Raja Man Singh for having sent word to Akbar that the Raja was building a palace for himself when the foundation of *Jumma Masjid* were being laid. On this account, it is said that the Raja had his house blown up with gunpowder. This story finds some collaboration from the state of the ruins of the buttresses and a portion of the parapet wall on the north.<sup>71</sup>

On a small eminence called *Haddaf* (hill or Archery butts) some four miles west of the Railway Station and about 100 yards to the south of the road leading to Sahebgunj is the *Jumma Masjid* erected by Raja Man Singh. It is an imposing building and is a fine specimen of the Mughal style of architecture. The legend relates that Raja Man Singh originally intended the building to be a palace for himself and that when Fateh Khan, a rich zamindar of the place, informed the Emperor, he converted it into a mosque. Another tradition is that Raja Man Singh wanted it to be a Hindu temple but converted it into a mosque in order to avert the anger of the Emperor.<sup>72</sup>

But on closer scrutiny both the legends fail to convince us. By 1595, Akbar had become too much tolerant in matters of religion and if Raja Man Singh had any idea of building a temple at Rajmahal, he knew it well that it would not excite the fury of Akbar. Besides, Rajmahal was a new city and was the capital of Bengal. If Raja Man Singh wanted to build a palace for himself, there was no reason why Akbar should have been displeased. It was essential that the governor of Bengal *Subah* should have a stately mansion for his residence. But Akbar really wanted this building to be a mosque because Rajmahal was the capital of Bengal and it was necessary that the State Capital should have a mosque in keeping with the dignity of the place. Thus it was in fitness of things that Raja Man

<sup>70</sup> *Santhal Parganas Gazetteer*, pp. 397-401.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*

Singh erected a mosque which was in scale and general design superior to many of the large mosques in the States of Bihar & Bengal.

It appears from the general design and pattern of the mosque that originally it consisted of a large prayer chamber and a spacious court-yard in front, enclosed by a high compound wall which had three entrances one each on the north, south and east respectively. The eastern entrance must have served the purpose of the main gate because it is provided with a porch in front. Along the enclosure wall, on the inner side, was a continuous low platform about 10 ft. wide. The northern half of the prayer chamber has disappeared and the remaining portion measures about 90 ft. long and 60 ft. wide.

Now the prayer chamber consists of a large central hall roofed transversely by a lofty pointed vault. The prayer chamber has by its side a set of four chambers which are covered by four large semi-circular domes resting on lofty arches. The western wall of the prayer chamber has got several niches, over some of which, may be observed some floral designs picked out in stucco.

At the extreme south-end of the prayer chamber is a set of four small rooms (about 10 ft. square) running east to west and covered by small domes. There is a second storey consisting of four domed roofed chambers (about 10 ft. square). At each corner of the prayer chamber is a lofty octagonal tower and at the end of the eastern wall as also on either side of the main gate on the east, are circular towers of smaller dimensions. In the middle of the court-yard was a small tank surrounded by chambers but has now silted up and overgrown with jungles. The northern part of the Prayer Chamber has totally collapsed ; none the less the mosque looks magnificent.

On the west of the mosque is a temple of *Siva*. Tradition affirms that it was built by Raja Man Singh. The temple is in a dilapidated condition and only the walls are standing and the remaining portion has fallen down. About one mile south-east of the *Jumma Masjid*, at a place known as *Katghar*, situated on the western out-skirts of the *Anna Sarobar* (tank), there is a well about 30 ft. in diameter known as Raja Man Singh's well.<sup>52</sup>

Raja Man Singh also founded a town named *Manpur* on the other side of the river *Phalgun* in the city of *Gaya*. This fact has been corroborated by '*Vansawali*' in the State Archives of *Jaipur* which says :

"From Azimabad the Maharaja went to *Gaya* and offered *Sradhs* for forty-five days and brought the town of

<sup>52</sup> *Santal Parganas Gazetteer*, pp. 397-401.

*Kuraishi*, M. M. II., *Ancient Monuments of Bihar & Orissa*, pp. 215-217, (Archaeological Survey of India, Vol. II).

Sambhupuri, which was the abode of the Sayyids, under occupation. In between the city of Gaya and Sambhupuri, the river *Phalgun* flows but the water was not visible because it was filled with sand all over. The Raja crossed the river and ordered that a big city be established on this spot. The order was carried out by the artisans engaged for the purpose and the new city named 'Manpur' sprang up".<sup>83</sup>

The information supplied by '*Vansawali*' is further supported by local tradition which avers that Raja Man Singh had inflicted a crushing defeat on the Muslims of the locality who had dared to oppose him. These Muslims made a representation to Emperor Akbar at Agra against the Kachhwaha Raja, but to no effect. Tradition is eloquent on this point that Raja Man Singh founded the new city on the other side of the river *Phalgun* in order to perpetuate his victory over the Muslim chiefs of the place.

Manpur is now no longer an independent city but it forms an important part of the Gaya town. There are still a few edifices associated with the memory of Raja Man Singh. The first thing that catches our eye is the '*Mangarhi*'<sup>84</sup> (Fort of Raja Man) located on the bank of river *Phalgun*, but no trace of the fort is now visible. Excepting the bricks of the outerwalls, everything else has gone down under a mound of earth and sand.

Local tradition affirms that Raja Man Singh built seven wells in the city of Manpur, out of which, only one is extant<sup>85</sup> and is still used by the people of the locality. There is a small stone plate inserted on the upper portion of the well but the inscription on it is completely washed out and it is of no use to us. This well has some marked features. It is quite large being about 20 ft. in diameter. The well is located in the middle of a rectangular platform about 40 ft. in length and 20 ft. in width. The most important feature is the long open tunnel five feet wide which is located on the eastern end of the platform and connected with the mouth of the well by a small covered tunnel 3 feet wide and this takes out the refuse water of the well. The bigger tunnel serves the purpose of a water reservoir for animals to drink from.<sup>86</sup> The raised platform is about 5 ft. high and has four broad stairs round it. The well is about 30 feet deep in diameter and it is still in use.

Another important edifice is the *Mahadeva temple* with the big

<sup>83</sup> *Vansawali* in the State Archives of Jaipur, p. 41-42.

<sup>84</sup> See Illustration No. 33.

<sup>85</sup> See Illustration No. 34.

<sup>86</sup> See Illustration No. 35.

tank attached to it. In general outlines and design, the temples at Manpur and Baikatpur bear close resemblance and it appears that both of them were constructed by the same architect. If there is any difference between the two, it lies in details and size and not in general features. The Baikatpur temple is bigger and more artistic than that at Manpur but the style of architecture is almost the same.

Like the temple at Baikatpur, that at Manpur<sup>87</sup> also is a *Siva temple*.<sup>88</sup> The chief deity is 'Nilkantha Mahadeva'. As is the usual feature with Raja Man Singh's temples, besides the chief deity, there are other gods and goddesses here also; for example, *Lord Vishnu*, *Lord Surya* (Sun-God), *Ganesh* and *Indra*. All these are carved out of stones and appear very artistic and their style of architecture is that of the later Gupta period. The image of *Suryadeva* is finely carved with two *Lotus* flowers in hands. The walls of the Sanctum are relieved by four niches on which are placed the images of *Surya*, *Ganesh* and *Indra*. *Lord Vishnu*, occupies the ground-floor to the west of the main deity. The idol of 'Nilkantha Mahadeva' is placed in the centre of a circular platform made of black-stone. The idol is carved out of a single piece of black-stone. It is not very large in size—about 3 ft. high and 4 ft. in circumference. But one thing is quite peculiar—It appears that all the idols and the images had to bear the stroke of the axes of the invaders because they are all partly disfigured. Local tradition is completely silent on this point. It is quite possible that the *Saiyyads* who had been defeated at the hands of Raja Man Singh attacked the temple at an opportune moment when Raja Man Singh had left the Eastern Provinces for the distant south.

Like Baikatpur Temple, the temple at Manpur consists of a Sanctum and a *Baradari*. The *Baradari* is rectangular in shape, its size being 12 ft. long and 15 ft. wide. It is also covered by a circular dome on which is placed the *Lotus* flower in full bloom. This along with the lotus on the ceiling which covers the main sanctum appears very lifelike and both these lotuses seem to be the exact reproduction of the *Lotus* flowers placed in the same position on the Baikatpur temple. The main sanctum is covered by a vertical dome which looks quite pleasing. The whole structure is made of bricks, lime and mortar. The temple is still intact and is in a flourishing condition. One torn, undated *farman*, in possession of the chief priest of Baikatpur, which bears the seals of several governors of Mughal times indicates that sufficient provision had been made for the up-keep and maintenance of the temple at Manpur. On the whole, the

<sup>87</sup> The importance of Manpur has increased on account of this temple.

<sup>88</sup> See Illustrations Nos. 36 & 37.

Manpur temple is a small but a beautiful structure and the plinth area is 35 ft. long and 30 ft. wide.

At the foot of the temple, there is a big tank.<sup>50</sup> Local tradition affirms that this tank once covered a space of nineteen acres of land. Even a casual glance at the tank suggests that formerly it must have been quite extensive covering a large area but now a large portion of it is silted up. Even then the tank is quite big—about 100 ft. long and 75 ft. wide. The tank was renovated in 1959 and one *Yagyayupa* or *Jath*<sup>51</sup> made of wood was discovered at the centre of the tank. This log of wood is quite thick being 30 ft. in diameter and is damaged but still intact. It appears very very old and people say that it belongs to the time of Raja Man Singh. The tank has on all the four sides long stairs made of stone but these are now in tottering condition.

There are traces of a big garden enclosing the temple and the tank. A large number of Mango & Peepal trees are still standing round about the tank. It is quite possible that Raja Man Singh had laid out a beautiful garden encircling the whole area.

The provision of a large tank and several wells in the city of Manpur clearly indicates that the Raja wanted thereby to remove the problem of water scarcity in the town. On account of the fact that the river 'Phalgu' remains dry for most part of the year (excepting the rainy season) the people of Gaya even now suffer from the scarcity of water. Raja Man Singh was conscious of this difficulty of the people of Manpur and therefore, he made a liberal provision of water in order to enable the people to tide over their difficulty.

The most stupendous work of Raja Man Singh is the extensive repairs and the re-modelling that he carried out in the fort of Rohtas. Rohtasgarh<sup>52</sup> is situated on an out-lying spur of the Kaimur hills, 30 miles from Dehri-on-Sone in the district of Shahabad in the State of Bihar. Raja Man Singh, on being appointed as the governor of Bihar and then of Bengal selected Rohtasgarh as his stronghold and had his fiefs there. The Raja put the fortifications in complete repair. He deepened and repaired the reservoirs, erected a palace for his own residence and laid out a handsome garden in Persian style.

The principal fortifications now existing are at *Rajaghat* and *Kathautiya*. The Palace or *Mahal Sarai* covers a very large area about 500 feet north to south and 300 ft. east to west.<sup>53</sup> The architecture is typical of that of Akbar in whose reign the palace was built and is a unique example of this style in the State of Bihar. The

<sup>50</sup> A log of wood is usually placed at the centre of a new tank.

<sup>51</sup> See Illustration No. 38.

<sup>52</sup> See Illustrations Nos. 39 & 40.

<sup>53</sup> See Illustration No. 41.

main gateway of the palace is towards the south and is known as *Hathia Pol* or the Elephant gateway. It is perhaps the most decorative part of the palace. It is made of stone on which traces of beautiful paintings in stucco are still to be seen. Two fine oriel-balconies are attached to the gate which enhance the dignity of the place. Under these balconies are placed sculptured elephants about 3 ft. high in a typical early Mughal niche.<sup>93</sup>

The main entrance, 9 ft. wide, leads into a beautiful guard-room, on the north and east sides of which are raised stone platforms which served the purpose of benches for the guards. The central portion of the guard-house is covered by a flat-domed roof.

The *Baradari* is quite imposing on account of its being most symmetrically arranged part of the whole palace. It is situated on a large platform about 120 ft. long and 90 ft. wide and 2 ft. high. The lower storey consists of a pillared *varandah* with a spacious hall behind it in the centre and four small rooms at the four corners. The *varandah* is supported on four sets of octagonal pillars and has a sloping roof. At both ends of the *varandah*, there is a small flat roofed chamber, 10 feet square with four doors. The great hall at the back is an imposing chamber measuring 40 ft. long and 20 ft. wide. It is covered by a hemispherical ceiling in the central section and pointed semidomes at the ends. At the east and west end of the building are two narrow stairs leading up to second storey.<sup>94</sup>

Towards further south there is a chamber with arched door-ways which leads to a building known as governor's residence. This double-storied building contains some of the finest rooms in the palace. The lower storcy consists of a long gallery with a hall and a dark chamber situated behind it on the west side and a set of handsome rooms on the north. Its roof is relatively low and is supported on arches. Behind the gallery is a long hall measuring about 45 ft. long and 15 ft. wide with an arched door-way. The second storey of this building is one of the most attractive parts of the palace and consists of a fine gallery with a very handsome hall behind it. The hall measures about 50 ft. long and 15 ft. wide and is locally known as *Takhta Badshahi*, or throne room and was used as *Diwan-i-Khas* by Raja Man Singh.<sup>95</sup>

A large arched gate-way at the north-west corner of the governor's residence leads to the *Zanana* Quarters locally known

<sup>93</sup> See Illustration No. 42.

<sup>94</sup> See Illustration No. 43.

<sup>95</sup> See Illustration Nos. 44, 45 & 46.

as the *Phulwari* or Flower garden, or *Khana Bagh*. It is so called on account of the fact that the court-yard was once divided into numerous flowerbeds by narrow paved pathways crossing each other at right angles.<sup>66</sup> It has a two-storeyed building known as the *Aina Mahal* or *Shish Mahal* (Palace of Mirrors) in the centre. The usual arrangement adopted for the apartments surrounding the Court is a hall with a wide entrance in the centre flanked by a room at each end. These apartments were intended to accommodate some of the governor's wives. The apartments afforded accommodation for some sixteen ladies.<sup>67</sup> In the general design of construction, these apartments bear close similarity to those in the Amber Palace which were meant for the wives of the Kachhwaha Raja. Three covered stairs near the south-east, north-east and north-west corners lead up to the roof of the apartments. At each of these corners of the roof is a small but handsome chamber about 12 ft. square with openings on all sides. These are very fine rooms and they have been provided with deep sloping *chajjas* on the side facing the interior court.<sup>68</sup>

The *Aina* or *Shish Mahal*<sup>69</sup> is a beautiful building in the flower-garden. But the name appears to be a misnomer. Unlike the *Shish Mahal* of the Agra Fort or the Amber Palace the *Aina Mahal* of the Rohtas Fort has hardly any glass on its walls. There are only twelve pieces of glass (2 ft. square each) in the whole of the building which have been darkened by the passages of time. However, the *Shish Mahal* was reserved for the most favourite wife of the Raja. It is a two-storeyed building the exterior of which is extremely plain. The lower storey consists of a room, a large square chamber in the centre, a closed *varandah* in the middle of each side and a small room in each corner. The corner roofs are very pleasing with hemispherical roofs. The rooms towards the south end are octagonal while on the north are square. The central chamber is large and handsome. A broad stair on the east side leads up to the second storey which is a small building. The upper storey is flanked by four small but beautiful rectangular rooms on the four sides.

Towards the south end of the flower garden, there are apartments for governor's kitchen, Baths or *Hammams* where provision for cold and hot-baths were made. The woven for boiling the water is still extant.<sup>70</sup>

<sup>66</sup> See Illustration No. 47.

<sup>67</sup> See Illustration No. 47.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>69</sup> See Illustration No. 48.

<sup>70</sup> See Illustration No. 49.

Quite close to these apartments is the *Nauch Ghar* (Dancing Hall) or *Diwan-i-Am*.<sup>101</sup> It is an imposing building and consists of a large open court-yard surrounded on two sides with pillared galleries shaded by deep *chajjas* in front. According to the local tradition, the building was used as a Dancing Hall by Raja Man Singh. A door in the east wall of this building leads to a small open court with a long chamber on the north and a gallery on the south. It was intended for the accommodation of the dancers and singers.

It is doubtful, however, if the Dancing Hall was used for the purpose mentioned above. It seems more probable that it served as the *Diwan-i-Am* or Hall of Public Audience. It is situated near the other official buildings, namely the *Baradari*, *Phul Mahal* and others. Besides, there is no other building which might serve the purpose of *Diwan-i-Am* except this one. Moreover, Public Audience Hall was an essential feature of all Mughal Palaces.

An arched gate-way at the north-west corner of the so-called *Nauch-Ghar* leads into *Phul Mahal*<sup>102</sup> or Palace of Flowers. The *Phul Mahal* consists of a spacious hall in the centre and a gallery on each side, front and back. The bases and capitals of the pillars are carved. The walls of the palace are relieved both inside and out by numerous niches and ornamented with floral and geometrical paintings and figures of vases etc. and it is possible that on account of these decorations, the building is called Palace of Flowers. The building, according to local tradition, was used by Raja Man Singh as his office.

In front of the west facade of the palace is a rectangular area measuring about 520' north-south and 274' east-west and surrounded by a high enclosure wall.<sup>103</sup> It is possible that the gallery served as barracks for the men immediately attached to the governor's person.

On the outer face of the ruined south gate-way of the courtyard is a small niche with the Quranic verse :

”لَا كُرَابَةَ فِي الدِّينِ قَدْ تَبَيَّنَ الرُّشْدُ مِنَ الْغَيْرِ“

*Translation* : “There is no compulsion in religion ;  
The Right Path is distinct from the Wrong :”

On the south face of the inner gate-way opposite the *Baradari* are three inscriptions<sup>104</sup>—one in Sanskrit and two in Persian. The letters of the inscriptions are quite distinct. The Persian inscriptions are written in *Nastaliq* characters and read as follows :

<sup>101</sup> See Illustration No. 50.

<sup>102</sup> See Illustration No. 52.

<sup>103</sup> See Illustration No. 51.

<sup>104</sup> See Illustration No. 53.

”این تاریخ در زمانه سلطان جلال الدین محمد اکبر باد شاه  
غازی خلد اللہ ملکہ و سلطانہ - در رازہ سپهر از شکش سقیم شد  
در رازہ سقیم بنائے چو شد تمام - در رازہ سال عمارت ش چون نمودم  
به طبع گفت از راجه مان سنگھه بنائے مقیم شد ”تحریر فی التاریخ  
بسیت و هفت م شهر رجب المرجب سنگھه هزار و پنج“

*Translation : L.—1 : On this date in the time of Sultan Jalal-uddin Muhammad Akbar Bahadur-i-Ghazi may God perpetuate his kingdom and his supremacy.*

*L.—2 : When this strong gate-way was completed the arch of heaven became weak (or fell ill) with envy.*

*L.—3 : I asked genius for the date of its construction.*

*L.—4 : It replied : 'Raja Man Singh has built strong building'.*

*L.—5 : Written on this the 27th day of the blessed month of Rajab in the year one thousand and five Alf and (letters) ain.*

The second inscription consists of six lines of practically one word each, *viz* :

”پورہست سری دھردار رغہ بیل بیدار استاد مبارک“

*Translation : Priest Sridar  
Darogha Bal Bhadr  
(Architect) Ustad Mubarak.*

The Sanskrit inscription reads as follows :

संवत् १६५४

श्रीगणेशायनमः अम्बोधिषु रसे दू  
मिः परिमिते पुरायं ( न्य ) याने ह्येन चैत्रे  
मासी वालपक्षे पक्षे वालिते शश्यम ( षष्याय ) तिथौ  
तागो वारे सर्वे गिरिन्द्र-चंशः तिलके श्री रो  
हित समच ले श्रीमान-मान-मही-महेन्द्र सपानो  
धराय व्यगात = प्रणतम ॥। श्री मा राजाधी  
जा - महाराज श्री मान सी ( से ) पुरोहित श्रीध  
रधिकारे भट्ट - चलभद्रेन कारितं शुभम = अस्तु

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*Translation :* Salutation to Ganesh. During the year measured by the seas arrows *rasas* and the moons in the meritorious half of the year, in the month of *Chaitra*, in the sixth day of the dark half (of the month) on Monday—the repairs to the palace of the illustrious king Mana were completed on the mountain Rohitasva, the scion of the race of all the great mountains.

Bhatta Balbadra under the authority of Sridhara, the family priest of illustrious Manasinha, king of kings, overlord, caused this (composition) to be made. May there be happiness.<sup>105</sup>

About two hundreds yards south-west of the Inspection Bungalow is the *Ganesh temple*.<sup>106</sup> It is located in an area called Rajghat. It consists of small sanctum with a *mandapa* in front. The *mandapa* seems to be incomplete. It is quite possible that it was destroyed by some non-Hindu invaders. The temple stands on a stone platform about 3 ft. high and measures 34 ft. x 38 ft. The plinth of the *mandapa* is ornamented with narrow pilasters in low relief. The walls of the sanctum are relieved with bold horizontal mouldings broken by chases and grooves. The spire is of the usual form—being decorated with a number of attached miniatures of itself. Inside the sanctum a modern statue of *Ganesh* is placed at the ledge.

About 50 yards to the east of the temple is another temple known as the *Mahadeva temple*<sup>107</sup> of which only the sanctum is now extant. It measures 15' x 15'8" out-side. A *linga* is placed in the pit. From the annual report of the Archaeological Survey, Eastern Circle (1902), it appears that these two temples were not known by any particular name until 1902. Thus, the names *Ganesh* and *Mahadeva* given to the respective temples are recent additions, but they must be either *Vishnu* or *Mahadeva* temples or both combined in one as is the special feature with the temples of Raja Man Singh.

The fort of Rohtas stands in village Akbarpur<sup>108</sup> which also, according to local tradition, owed its origin to Raja Man Singh. The Kachhwaha Raja founded this village in order to perpetuate the memory of his master—Emperor Akbar. Raja Man Singh was appointed as the governor of Bihar in December, 1587 and with it

<sup>105</sup> Translation copied from Archaeological Survey of India, Vol. I.I, p. 169.

<sup>106</sup> See Illustration No. 54.

<sup>107</sup> See Illustration No. 55.

<sup>108</sup> See Illustration No. 56.

he received his fiefs in Rohtas. The Raja must have commenced the repairs of the building of Rohtasgarh soon after his arrival in Bihar. The dates as mentioned in the Persian and Sanskrit inscriptions (1005 A. H. or 1596 A. D. & 1654 V. S. or 1597 A. D.) must not be taken as referring to the completion of the gate-way but it also relates to the completion of the whole building at Rohtas which took ten years (*i.e.* 1587 to 1597).

The palace and other structures at Rohtas are really works of great architectural beauty.<sup>109</sup> Rightly observes Mr. L.S.S.O' Malley : "The palace at Rohtas is of unique interest as being the only specimen of Mughal civil architecture."<sup>110</sup>

<sup>109</sup> *Shahabad District Gazetteer* by L.S.S.O' Malley, pp. 150-'52.

*A Statistical Account of Bengal* by W. W. Hunter, Vol. XII, pp. 209-211, published in 1877.

*Archaeological Survey of India*, Vol. I.I.

*Ancient monuments of Bihar and Orissa* by Maulvi Muhammad Hamid Khan shi, pp. 154-180.

<sup>110</sup> *Shahabad District Gazetteer* by L.S.S.O' Malley, pp. 150-'52.

## APPENDIX 'A'

### FARMAN OF RAJA MAN SINGH TO MAMU-BHANJA MAUSOLEUM

This *farman* of Raja Man Singh was discovered from the mausoleum of *Pir Mamu Bhanja*, which stands on an extensive ground along the Mahnar Road in Mohalla Jaruha of Hajipur town in the State of Bihar. It is difficult to say as to when and by whom the mausoleum was constructed. Local tradition supported by the findings of Prof. S. H. Askari<sup>1</sup> lead us to believe that the mausoleum was erected by Raja Sahi (Shiva) Singh.<sup>2</sup> The Raja had no issue but was blessed with one through the blessings of *Pir Mamu Bhanja*. He also constructed a well and a tank and made over an area of 32 bighas of land for the maintenance of the mausoleum.

The *farman* was found in possession of Shah Mokhtar Ahmad, the present keeper of the mausoleum. This *Sanad* tells us that Raja Man Singh granted 14 bighas of arable land by way of *madad maash* or means of subsistence, to Shaikh Baksha, one of the keepers of the mausoleum of Syed Ahmad and Syed Muhammad, well known traditionally as *Pir Mamu Bhanja*.<sup>3</sup> The *farman* is dated 21 Zil-hijja, 999 A. H. or 1st October, 1591.

The *Sanad* is quite old and is partly damaged, the result being that some of its words and sentences have disappeared. The *farman* is bilingual—both in Persian and Hindi. The Hindi portion is important since there are some pieces of information contained in it. Moreover, it represents one of the earliest pieces of Hindi language that was in use in Bihar at that time and is also a typical specimen of Hindusthani then in vogue. It is also possible that the Court language of the present time (which is highly Persianised Hindusthani) evolved out of this form.

<sup>1</sup> Prof. S. H. Askari is a Professor of History in the Patna University. This *farman* of Raja Man Singh was discovered by him.

<sup>2</sup> Raja Shiva Singh was an important ruler of Brahman Dynasty of Kameshwari. He ruled over Tihut in the State of Bihar in the early part of the 15th century.

<sup>3</sup> Syed Ahmad was the maternal uncle (mother's brother) of Syed Muhammad. Prof. Askari holds the view that Syed Ahmad was the brother of Miran Hussain Khingsawer who had lost his life at the hands of the Hindus in 1213 A. D. at Ajmer.

It is rather surprising that the *Sanad* is without any seal. But it does not in any way cloud our belief about the genuineness of the document. Perhaps the portion containing the seal is torn away. The paper and the ink bear out fully that the document is very old. Besides, there can be one more possibility. It might be an old copy of the original *farman*. However, this *farman* of Raja Man Singh is of great historical value.

The Persian text which consists of 12 lines has been written in good *Shikasta* characters but has many lacunae. It reads thus :

”سید محمد و سید احمد عرف ماسون بیانچہ حکم اعلی شد...  
 عمال و متصدیان صہما ت پرگنہ حاجی پور به عنایت و الطفاف  
 امید وار بوده بدانه که بمحض تصحیح و تصدیق صدارت پناه  
 مرحوم قاضی یعقوب و استاد حکام سابق موضع چهارده بگیره  
 زمین مزرعه خارج جمع از سال تمام از موضع جردها از پرگنہ  
 مذکور در وجه مدد معاش شیخ بخش و جمیع مجاوران ...  
 مزار متبرک قطب الاقطاب .. مقرر بود هنوز معقر و مسلم شده  
 بباید: که بشرط قبضه و تصرف و موافق... قانون گوئی با تصرف...  
 از عمال تمام... حواله ماه عطیه البیهی بذماید تاریخ... بد عائی درلت  
 ابدی اتصال بندگان حضرت استغال داشته باشند درین باب  
 پرانه مجدد هر ساله طلب ندارند- تاریخ ۲۱ ذوالحجہ نه صد و نه“

*Translation :* “The lofty command has been issued that the agents and the administrators of the affairs of Pargana Hajipur being expectant of the kindness and favours should know that according to the attestations and verifications of the Lord Chief Justice Qazi Yakub, the deceased, and the *Sanad* granted by the previous rulers 14 bighas of arable revenue-free lands in village Jaruha of the said Parganah has been settled from the end of the year, by way of *madad-mash* (means of subsistence) with Sheikh Baksha and the body of the custodians of the holy shrine of the pole of the poles Syed Muhammad and Syed Ahmad alias Mamu Bhanja and the same settlement has now been confirmed and, therefore, they should

make over the same to the donee on condition of their having (previously) enjoyed its use and possession in accordance with the distribution made by the Qanungoes so that being relieved (of anxiety) they should remain engaged in prayer for the eternal state (of His Majesty). They should not demand the renewal of the *Parwana* every year dated 21 Zulhijja 999".

The Hindi text which comprises 25 lines has been deciphered as follows :

- १—महाराजाधिराज
- २—.....श्रीमानसिंघजी
- ३—.....ननु अमल वो मुताश—
- ४—... दी मुहीमती परगने
- ५—( हा ) जीपुरभाद्रिशेष ( सन् )
- ६—नद वचने अपार वमोजिव तस्हीह
- ७—ही वो तश्दीक काली याकूब
- ८—सनद साधिक हुकाम मा ( बजी )
- ९—मजहा चौदह बिघा १४
- १०—काश्त साल तमाम अज
- ११—मौजे जरुहा अज परगने मजकूर
- १२—दरवजाए मददमाश शेख वरुन्धा
- १३—वा जमाए मुजविरान मजार
- १४—..... सुकरही सनी फसल
- १५—खरीक पारशी-ईल सन् ९९९
- १६—वा ऐन दस्तुर सावित रा
- १७—वा वशरते कब्ज वो तसर्फ क वो
- १८—मवाफिक तवसीम कानूनगोह
- १९—इवाले मुशारिस्त अलेह के कीजो दखल
- २०—मत करो वो हर साल परवाने
- २१—तलब भत करो साल तमाम में
- २२—फी वीधे मजहु पीछे सुका एक

२३—खालिस लीजों अरु और कच्छ  
 २४—दखल मत करो श्री श्री.....  
 २५—अपु कारेन २१ जुलहिज्जे ९९९”

*Translation :* “Sree Maharajadhiraj Man Singhjee directs the agents and administrators of the affairs of the Pargana of Hajipur that on a perusal of the Sanad and according to the attestation and verification thereof by Qazi Yakub and the Sanads of the previous rulers fourteen bighas of cultivable lands in village Jaruha in the said pargana have been settled by way of maintenance with Shaikh Baksha from the end of the year of the autumnal season of the month of Parsi Eel year 999. Do deliver it to the aforesaid person in accordance with the proved custom of the land and the distribution made by Kanungoes provided that the previous possession thereof is proved. You should not seize it nor demand the renewal of Parvana every year. Do take at the end of every year four annas per rupee for every bigha of the cultivated land. Don't seize any other thing . . . Zulhijja 999 A.H. or 1591 A. D.”

APPENDIX 'B'  
FARMAN OF RAJA MADHAVA SINGH

This *farman* of Raja Madhava Singh (brother of Raja Man Singh) was found in possession of the Brahmin priests of Baikatpur temple in the district of Patna. The Hindi text of the *farman* runs as follows :

राधा वल्लम वो भवानी संकरजी

चिद्धि श्री महाराजा श्री माधोसंघजीदेव वचनातु आमीलान हाल व हीसत गवाल व जागीरदारान व चौधरीआन व कानूनगोआन वो मकद्दमान प्रगनौ वौकटपुर सरकार वीहार ही से सुपरसाद कचा अपस्य श्री ठाकुर का भोग वागौरह दीजौ माफीक तफसील व मुजीब परवाना श्री महाराजाधिराज महाराजा श्री मानसंघजी व तारीख २९ २ आषरी सन् १००९ पौस वदी ११ संवत् १६५७ मुकुरा वौरा श्री ..... ठाकुर द्वारा वरसौधी कपड़ा नगद ३/२५ जीनसी वे रान्दी श्री ठा .....॥३॥ सबलं ६

तरकारी	मिठाई	चावल	आटा
५२	५१	५५	५६
ठाकुरजी मरगुल व रसौधी			
दूध	पाण	दाली	घीव
५२	२५	५२॥	५१
केसरी			१ गौव्य
१।	१७५ (रावप)		
	या		
	२०। १६		

अदीतवारी तरी पाकौरह घर पाकदिगदि रथी असार ।

वाग श्रीठाकुरजी का वीधा | धरती मजल ११ जा वीधा दो ही सौ

सताइस ..... होरी सामो गुर२० | २००

साथ परवाना देयो अमल दीजो माहुवात को कहाव मती करो मवाफीक परवाना मुजरोहसी परवाना हरी साल तलव मती करो ।

ताः २२ मा जीलकाद सन् १०११ मुकाम वौकटपुर ।

Translation : Radha Vallava and Bhawani Shankarji

The blessed Shri Maharaja Madho Singhji Deva dictates : "Be it known to all the present and future Amils, 'Jagirdars, 'Chaudharis, 'Quanungoes and Muqaddams of the Pargana of Baukatpur in the *Sarkar* of Bihar that in accordance with the Parwana of Maharajadhiraj Maharaj Shri Man Singhji dated the 29th Ashri, 1009, i.e. 26th Paus, V. S. 1657, (1600 A. D.), provisions are made for the offerings of various descriptions to the Thakurdwara by way of . . . cloth, cash, articles . . . as detailed below—

### Articles

Vegetables	Sweets	Rice	Flour
2 seers.	1 $\frac{1}{4}$ seers.	5 seers.	6 seers.
Milk	Pana	Datni	Ghee
2 srs.	25	2 $\frac{1}{2}$ srs.	1 sr.
Land for garden	for Shri Thakurji	Seedam	Kesari
Land	—27 bighas.	1 govyā	1 $\frac{1}{4}$
Land	—200 bighas.		

Effect be given to the parwana. No interference should be made in any way, and as directed in the original parwana yearly check-up for renewal should not be made." 22 Zilkad 1011 A. H. Village —Boukatpur.

The Persian text is as follows :

راجہ بلبہ و بہوانی شنکر حکم شد کہ عمال حال و استقبال  
و جاگیرداران و چوریان و قانون گوبان و رعایان مزارعان پرگنہ  
بیکوئہ پور من اعمال سرکار بہار... چون در درجہ... و سبزدہ و نہم  
اسیار... و پنچ اسیار ارد و دو و نیم سیر دال و یک سیر در غن کاڑ  
سی و شس در پیہ پاؤ بالا سالیانہ برائت پوشک زنار داران و د  
صہ و بست و هفت بیگہ زمین مزرعه و افتاده باخ در فی خانہ  
شس ارت ار انواری و پار برا تنگی تبا را بلندہ میکور و در درجہ  
را مدادس و لچھمن و تلسی زنار دار و غیرہ بموجب پردازه  
نواب مہاراج دھیراچ مان سنگھہ وغیرہ باسم بھوگ

سری ٹھاکر دارہ بوسونہ وغیرہ مقرر ہوئیں پہستو رسا بق  
در رجہ مدد معاش مشاربہم مقرر نہوہ شد بایہ کہ مبلغ  
وغیرہ بموجب متن می دا سست ہے باشندہ کہ بشارط جمع پہ دعاگوئ  
د دام دولت قاهرہ بندگان حضرت استغاث نمائیند و ہر سالہ  
درین باب سند مجہد طلب نہ نمائند و از فرمودہ صدر ہرگز  
نعرفی بندائیں فیالتاریخ ۲۲ ماہ ذیقعدہ ۱۱۱۱ ہے ۱۱۱۱ ہے

*Radha Vallava and Bhawani Shankar*

*Translation :* The present and future Amils, Qanungoes, Jagirdars, Chaudharis, the subjects and the cultivators of pargana Baikunthpur. Sarkar Bihar. were informed that on the basis of a *parwana* of Nawab Maharajadhiraj Man Singh, 13½ seers . . . . 5 seers of Urid (a kind of grain). 2½ seers pulses. 1 seer cow's ghee, Rs. 36/4/- (Rupees Thirty-Six & annas four only) for the dresses of the Brahmins, 227 bighas of land, both cultivated and uncultivated, including the groves of trees were given to Ram Das, Lachman, Tulsi and other Brahmins, in order to enable them to serve Pawn Bhog (offerings to the deity) in the temple at Baikunthpur. The content of the *Parwana* has been confirmed once again and that aforesaid persons were allowed to enjoy those grants undisturbed so that they might continue to pray for prosperity of the kingdom. The *Sanad* should not be demanded every year and no departure should be made from the contents of the aforesaid. Written on 22nd of the month of Zilkada 1011 A. H. or 1th May, 1602 A. D.

While perusing the Hindi texts<sup>1</sup> of the bilingual *firms* of the *Mamu-Bhanja* Mausoleum and the Baikatpur temple, we come to the conclusion that the languages used in the two differ to a great extent. In the *firman* of the *Mamu-Bhanja* Mausoleum some prescribed official form seems to have been adopted, whereas in the *parwana* of the Baikatpur temple, the form has been considerably adapted to incorporate several words representing religious rites and usages. The *firman* of the temple starts with common form of expression still

<sup>1</sup> Some of the sentences in the Hindi text are incomplete and, therefore, they could not be deciphered, whereas the sentences in the Persian text are complete and intelligible.

prevalent among the Hindus, e.g. Radha-Vallava. . . . The rigour of the stereotyped official expression as appears in the *farman* of the Mausoleum seems to have been relaxed in the *parwana* of Baikatpur temple. But there is also an element of similarity in the two texts where the appeal has been made to the officers and their hierarchy, and there the same Persianised Urdu expressions. e.g. *Lijjo*, *Mat Karo* etc. etc. have been used.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> The *farman* of the Baikatpur temple as mentioned above is the certified copy issued under the seal of the Munsif, Third Court, Patna in 1900 A. D. The original *farman* is in Jaipur which could not be traced by me during my stay there.

## APPENDIX 'C'

*Hindi Inscription* in western corner of Baradari in the Govind-deva temple :

‘संबहु ३४ श्रीनराकवंध अकव-॥ सा  
ह -॥ज्ये श्री कर्मकुल श्री पृथीराजाधि  
राज वंश महाराज श्री भगवंतदास मु  
त श्री महाराजोधराज श्री मन सिं  
हदेव श्री बृद्धावन जोग पीठ स्था  
न मंदिन कराजौ श्री गोविन्द देव कौ ।

.....  
(For translation please see p. 16 of the book)

## SANSKRIT INSCRIPTION

श्रीबृन्दाविनिपते शिवादिदिविषहन्दा तली बन्दिदौ कृष्णनित ..... श्रीगोपाल स्थितः  
श्रीगोविन्दतया श्रुतिस्मृतिव्यी सन्दो हतंघा ..... श्री कृष्णस्य कुंज ..... वडा कृष्णदा  
भ्र जते ॥ १ ॥ श्रीमान किवरो यदा मुनमपानसवांतद्वे वाधुनासर्वः सौरव्य ..... जन गवः  
स्वधर्मसुन्तर्येत्र जना श्रीगोविन्द पदंतदेत दपिते वासाय सहैक्ष वालमृल ..... ते  
तत्मे सदेशानिराशः ॥ २ ॥ तस्मिं स्तस्य सदानिति द्वितिपतिः श्री मानसिंहसिंह पृथी राजाधिराज

.....  
भेदचन्द्रमा : मृ मृद्या-। हमल्ल जात भगवद्यासात्म जो मन्दिरं कुर्वन्तिन्दिन-या व लादव  
लया नन्द सदा विनःतौ.....  
स्थाविघमहा-॥जाधि-॥जोत्य सो ये ने वारिदिन् गतेनविजयी भवस्त भ्रमे क्रीडति ।  
ना श्रीमानतसिंहस्य.....  
नवजुद्देयस्य निपत्यदिव्यपिन्यः कीर्तिच्वजगताः ॥ ३ ॥ यः कृष्णाधिपत्यातिनोष  
विजयी.....धारिं नृप.....  
सदा निज.....श्रीगोविन्दपदा-। विन्द मजास्तन्मंदिन। समधा कुर्वन्त  
धाममन्तर्गूर्ण.....श्रीगोविन्दपतः ।”

*Substance :* “At Brindaban, which has been eulogised by *Shiva* and other gods as well as *Vedas* and *Shastras* and the lovely groves of which are blessed with the

Irolies of Shri Gopal. Shri Man Singh, the son of Shri Bhagwant Das, the son of Bharamal and scion of Emperor Prithwiraj, at the service of the feet of Shri Govind, got the temple constructed during the reign of Emperor Akbar, when the subjects enjoyed perfect happiness and tranquillity. The Mahrajadhiraj roams fearlessly and triumphantly, having destroyed all his foes. Victorious Man Singh whose banner of fame flies aloft in the skies, got the temple built by Shri Govind Das, who serves the lotus-feet of Shri Govind with a great devotion."

*Hindi Inscription on the outer wall of the western side of the Govinddeva temple :*

“संवत् ३४ श्री-॥ कर्मकुल सा  
ह-॥ ये श्रीकर्मकुल श्रीपृथी-॥जाधि  
-॥जवंश महाराज श्रीभगवंतदास द्व  
त श्री महा-॥जीधराज श्रीमन सि  
द्वेष श्रीद्वावन जोग पीठ स्था  
न मंदिन क-॥जौ श्रीगोकिन्द्र देव कौ ।  
कामउपनि श्रीकल्याणदास अम्बकारि-।  
माणिकपंद वापाइन्सि त्यकारि- ।  
गोविन्ददास शीलवलि का-गह ।  
दः गोरपद्मु वीमशल

*Translation :* “This temple of Shri Govinddeva in the *Yogabeth* of Brindaban was built by Shri Maharajadhiraj Shri Man Singh, the son of Shri Bhagwant Das Ji, descendant of Shri Karmakul Shri Emperor Prithwiraj during the reign of Shri Nrakbandh (?) Akbar Shah in Samvat 34. The construction work of the temple of Govinddeva was executed by Govinddas, the architect of Delhi, who was the son of Manickchand Chapar, (?) the obedient son of Kalyandas.”

Sd/- Gorasdasu Vibhawal.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This appears to be the name of some priest of the Govinddeva temple because Dasu or Das was the sub title usually assumed by the *Gowains* of Brindaban in those days.

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#### D. (i) *Journals*

- (1) Journal of Royal Asiatic Society (London), 1840-1940.
- (2) Journal of Asiatic Society, (Bengal), 1860-1946.
- (3) Bengal Past and Present, 1900-1944.
- (4) Bihar & Orissa Research Society Journal, Subsequently Bihar Research Society Journal, 1930-1958.
- (5) Indian Historical Quarterly, 1925-1956.
- (6) Journal of Indian History, 1935-1945.
- (7) Proceedings of the 18th Session of Indian History Congress, Calcutta, 1955.

#### (ii) *Hindi Magazines*

- (1) *Sudha*, 1926-30.
- (2) *Madhuri*, 1925-35.
- (3) *Saraswati*, 1920-1940.
- (4) *Nagri Pracharini Sabha Patrikas*, 1950-59.

#### E. *Inscriptions*

- (1) Stone Inscription in Amber Museum.
- (2) Stone Inscriptions on Govinddeva Temple at Brindaban.
- (3) Stone Inscriptions in Rohtas Fort.

- (1) Marble Inscription in the entrance on the Jagdish temple at Udaipur.
- (5) Inscription in *Naulakha* tank at Dungarpur (Rajputana).

#### F. *Farmanis*

- (1) *Farman* of Raja Man Singh to the *Mamu-Bhanja* Mausoleum at Hajipur.
- (2) *Parwana* of Raj Madhava Singh to the Baikatpur temple in the district of Patna.
- (3) *Farmanis & Parwanas* of Shahjahan to the Baikatpur temple.

#### G. *Architecture*

- (1) Brown, Percy : Indian Architecture, Vol. II (Islamic period, published in 1942).
- (2) Fergusson : History of Indian and Eastern Architecture (published in 1910).
- (3) Growse, F. S. : Mathura (published in 1883).
- (4) Terry, John : The charm of Indo-Islamic Architecture.

#### H. *Genealogical Table*

Genealogical Table in the State Archives of Jaipur.

#### I. *An Indian Ephemeris*

Vols. I to VII, by L. D. Swamikannu Pillai. (published under the authority of the Government of Madras, 1922).

## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

### A. RAJA MAN SINGH

(Photograph of the life-size portrait of Raja Man Singh taken at Jaipur Museum).

### B. RAJA BHAGWANT DAS, RAJA MAN SINGH AND RAJA BHAO SINGH

(Photographs of the life-size portraits of Raja Bhagwant Das, Raja Man Singh and Raja Bhaos Singh taken at Jaipur Museum).

- (1) A view of village Amber taken from the fort on the hillock above.
- (2) A view of the outer part and ramparts of the Amber fort.
- (3) *Diwan-i-Am* of Raja Man Singh in the Amber fort.
- (4) The beautifully sculptured main gate of the Amber palace built by Jai Singh I.
- (5) A view of the passage leading to the main gate of the Amber fort made in the most crude primitive style.
- (6) The *Baradari* by the side of the *Zanana Mahal* of Sawai Jai Singh.
- (7) Beautiful wall-paintings inside the room of Raja Man Singh's palace.
- (8) A beautiful partial view of the room of one of Raja Man Singh's wives in the Amber palace.
- (9) A *Baradari* located in the centre of a very big courtyard down-stairs.
- (10) A beautiful balcony in the Amber palace of Raja Man Singh.
- (11) A view of the personal apartment of Raja Man Singh.
- (12) A view of the *Tulsi-Chaura* in front of the prayer room of Raja Man Singh.
- (13) A view of the inner portion of Raja Man Singh's palace taken from different angles.  
(14)
- (15) The beautiful closed gate of *Sila Devi* inside the Amber fort.
- (16) The beautiful sepulchre of Raja Man Singh in the royal cemetery ground.

- (17) The beautiful paintings of mythological gods and goddesses on the inner portion of the cenotaph.
- (18) Passage leading to the *Jagatsiromany temple*.
- (19) A view of the *Garura temple* in front of the main sanctum of the *Jagatsiromany temple*.
- (20) A view of the inner portion of the *Jagatsiromany temple*.
- (21) A view of the *Man Mandir* of Varanasi from the side of the Ganges.
- (22) The *Man Ghat*, below the *Man Mandir* at Varanasi.
- (23) { A view of *Baikatpur temple* from different angles.
- (24) }
- (25) Frontage of *Baikatpur temple*.
- (26) The spacious *Pucca Courtyard* within the *Baikatpur temple*.
- (27) Two beautiful *Pucca Ghats* at Baikatpur with a tin-shaded raised platform in between, containing the sacred ashes of Raja Man Singh's mother within.
- (28) The front view of *Govinddeva temple* at Brindaban.
- (29) A side view of the *Govinddeva temple* taken at a different angle from the northern side.
- (30) Richly carved pillar in *Govinddeva temple* with images disfigured.
- (31) The incomplete Hindi inscription on *Govinddeva temple*.
- (32) The inscription in Sanskrit on the temple with most of the words having become illegible in course of the ravages of time.
- (33) A view of the *Man Garhi* at Manpur in Gaya town raised to the ground with a few palm-trees standing on the ruins.
- (34) A view of one of the seven *Pucca* wells constructed by Raja Man Singh at Manpur.
- (35) The open tunnel attached to the well.
- (36) { A view of the *Nilkantha Mahadeva temple* taken from two
- (37) } different angles at distant and closed ranges.
- (38) A view of the beautiful tank attached to the temple.
- (39) { A view of the Rohtas fort taken from two different angles.
- (40) }
- (41) Open field in front of the main gate with buildings all round.

- (42) The *Hathia Pole* or the elephant gateway of the Rohtas fort with two beautifully sculptured elephants in niches on both the sides.
- (43) The *imposing Baradari* in the Rohtas fort.
- (44) A general view of Raja Man Singh's residential palace in the Rohtas fort.
- (45) The ground-floor of the residential palace of Raja Man Singh.
- (46) A view of the attractive upper story of the palace.
- (47) A view of the '*Phoolwari*' or the flower-garden with apartments on all the four sides reserved for the queens of Raja Man Singh.
- (48) The *Shis-Mahal* in *Khana-bagh* or the flower-garden meant for the chief queen of the Kachhwaha Raja.
- (49) A view of the apartment for the Raja's *Hammam* where water was boiled for bath.
- (50) Dancing-hall in Rohtas fort.
- (51) The rectangular courtyard in front of the west facade of *Phul-Mahal*.
- (52) The beautiful building of *Phul-Mahal* or Palace of Flowers in Rohtas fort.
- (53) The Persian and Sanskrit inscriptions on a rectangular piece of stone immediately above the inner gateway.
- (54) A view of the *Ganesh temple* in Rohtas fort.
- (55) The *Mahadeva temple* in the Rohtas fort.
- (56) A snap view of the village of Akbarpur situated in lovely natural surroundings taken from above the fort.

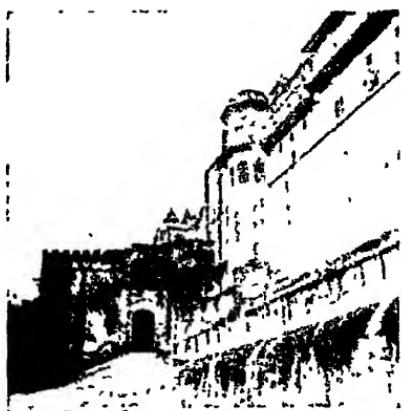
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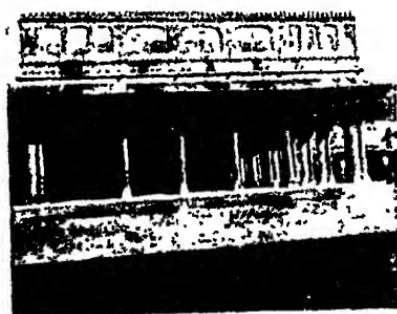
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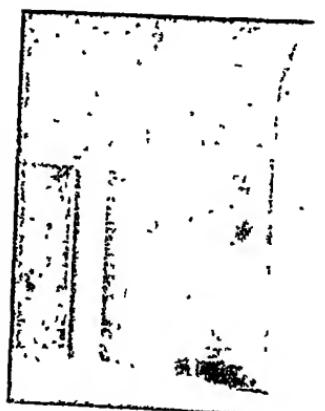
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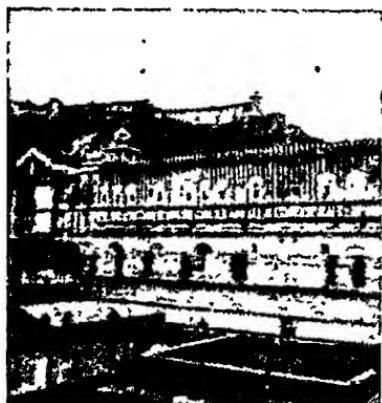


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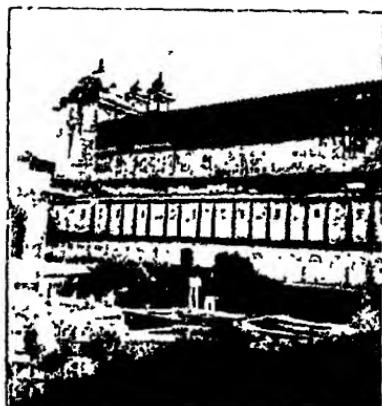
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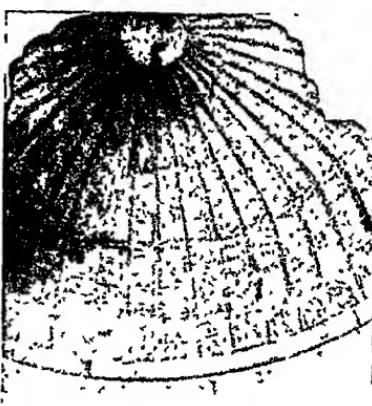
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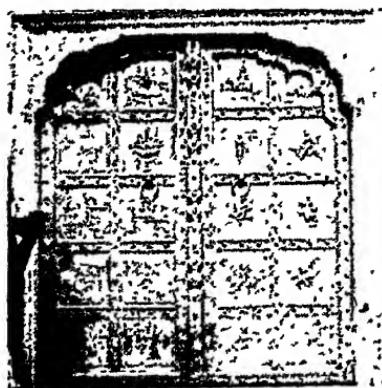
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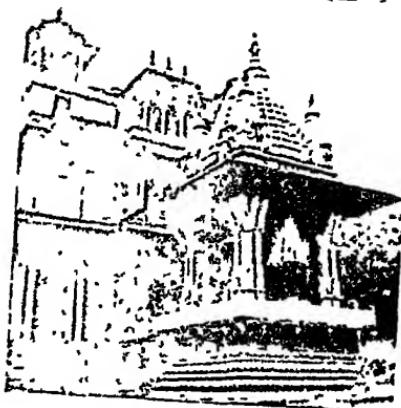
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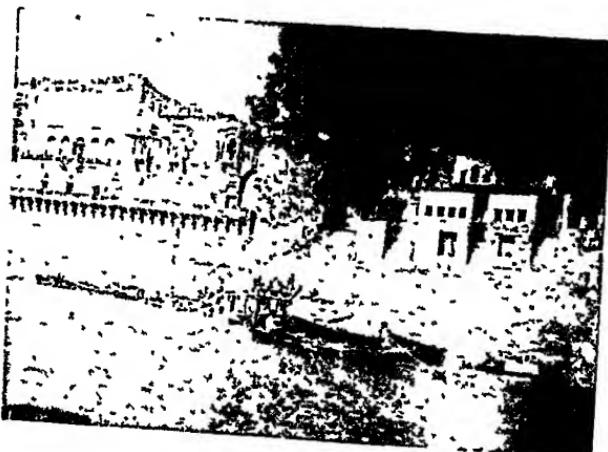
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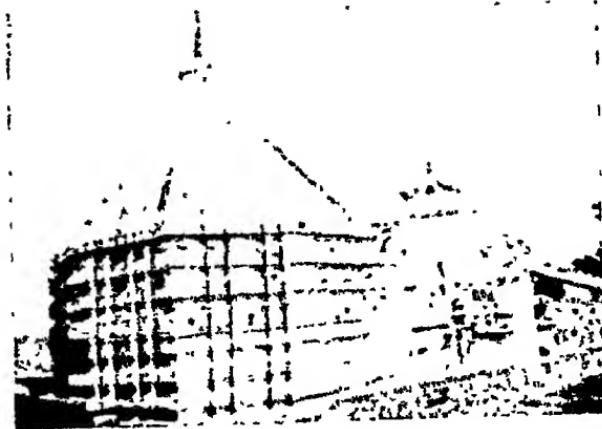
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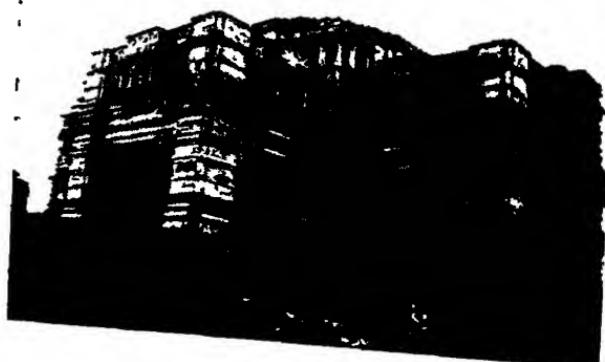
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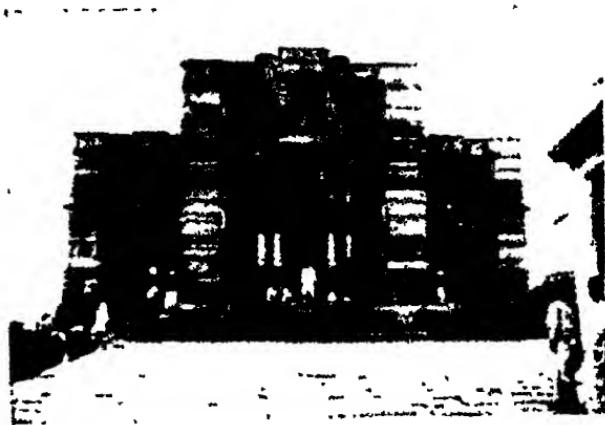


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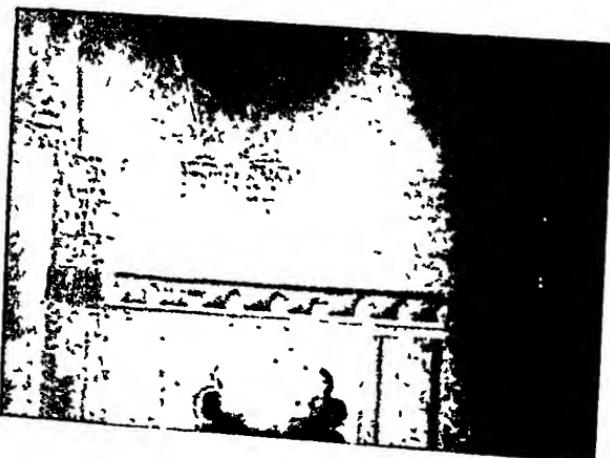
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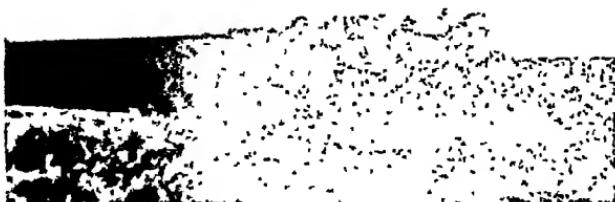


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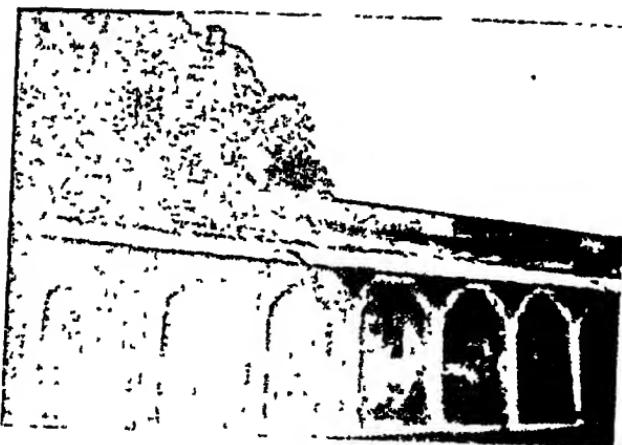
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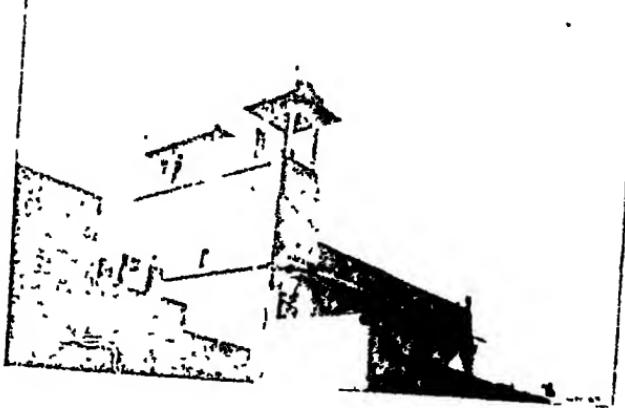
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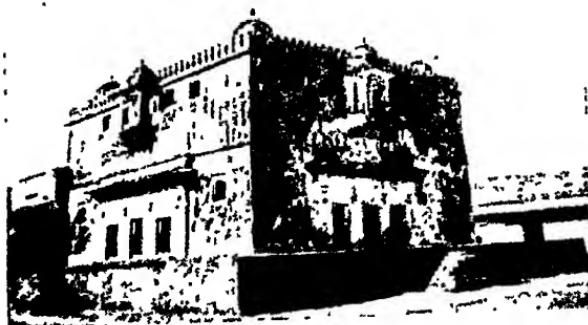
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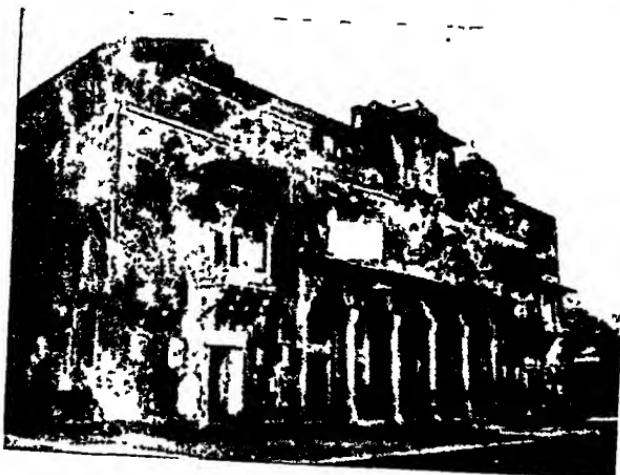
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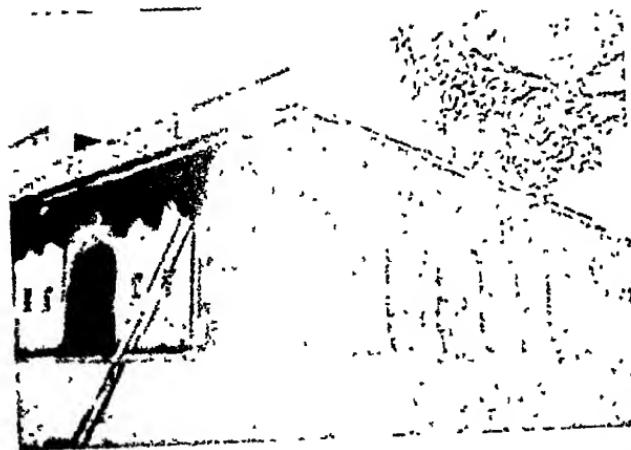
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Page 14	last line of the page	<i>for</i> Madhava Das	<i>read</i> Madhava Singh
Page 77	8th line from below	<i>for</i> Masnad	<i>read</i> Mansab
Page 100	21st line from top	<i>for</i> 1901	<i>read</i> 1601
Page 103	12th line from top	<i>for</i> lighting	<i>read</i> lightening
Page 111	24th-25th lines from top	<i>for</i> hopefull	<i>read</i> hopeful
Pages 113 to 119	Odd folio headings	<i>for</i> Raja Man Singh as Governor of Bengal	<i>read</i> Raja Man Singh and the last days of Akbar
Page 114	17th line from top	<i>for</i> alive	<i>read</i> alive
Page 112	9th line from top	<i>for</i> engadge	<i>read</i> engaged
Page 122	3rd line from below	is redundant.	
Page 124	7th line from top	<i>for</i> ...left Amber...	<i>read</i> ...left for Amber...
Page 166	2nd line from below	<i>for</i> woven	<i>read</i> oven



